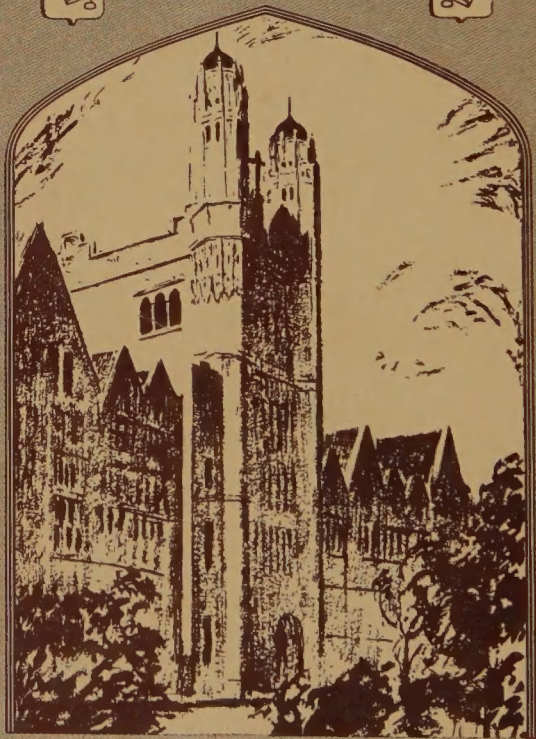


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TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXT-BOOKS

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TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXT-BOOKS

THE MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN EUROPE

BY

DANA CARLETON MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

AND

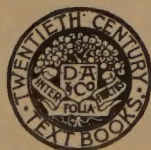
MERRICK WHITCOMB

PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

IN TWO PARTS

PART I. A HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

PART II. A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE



NEW YORK

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1912

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PREFACE

IN the preparation of this work the authors have been guided by the following principles: 1. The date chosen for the commencement is the earliest one recommended by the "Committee of Seven." 2. It is especially important that pupils should be acquainted with the most prominent events in recent history; consequently it has seemed wise to give more space to modern history than to medieval, and to dwell upon the nineteenth century at greater length than any other. 3. The progress of recent thought has brought the whole world into our field of interests; therefore it is impossible to confine our studies merely to European history, and it is necessary to consider the other nations which have influenced the development of Europe. Medieval history which omits the civilizations of the Mohammedan and Byzantine worlds is inadequate to explain the advance of Europe. Modern history that does not deal with the most important events in eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa, or fails to consider the growing importance of colonial dependencies, presents a one-sided view of the history of modern nations. 4. At the present day we are interested in social and economic questions. Although these can not be made the most prominent factors

in a general history of Europe, they should never be lost sight of. As the story of the world's advance approaches our own age, they should be dwelt upon with increasing emphasis. 5. In many schools it is not possible to give the four years' course recommended by the "Committee of Seven," and many thoughtful teachers prefer to omit the year of English history; therefore an account of the essential features of English history has been given in this volume. By the use of the manuals teachers can easily amplify the work in English history to any extent desired. 6. In the study of history the course should be progressive. Pupils may begin with a mere text-book statement, but they should be trained gradually to use other sources of information. The first part, Medieval History, is intended to give the training which will enable the pupils to take up the more advanced methods of the second part. 7. Finally, these text-books are not planned for any rigid course, and the idea has been constantly in the minds of the authors that they can never supersede the work of the teacher.

In the manuals many additional references are given both to sources and to books for supplementary reading. Suggestions are made about methods of teaching. The pictures and maps are discussed. Select bibliographies are furnished, with some critical estimates. It is our hope that these manuals will aid teachers in fitting the work to the particular needs of their pupils.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

MERRICK WHITCOMB.



RHEINSTEIN.

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PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

IN this text-book three subjects have been emphasized: first, the work of the Christian Church, the greatest of the civilizing agencies; second, the debt which we owe to the Byzantine and Arabic civilizations; third, the life of the times. While endeavoring to subordinate mere facts and dates, I have intended to introduce those with which a pupil should be familiar.

It is impossible to name the sources to which I am indebted; as I have formed my opinions gradually, during thirteen years in which I have been engaged in studying and teaching medieval history. In preparing the maps I have profited greatly by the admirable Oxford *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. Dr. A. F. Nightingale, of Chicago, Mr. F. L. Thompson, of New York, and Dr. Caroline Colvin, one of my students, have read the whole manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. Prof. E. H. Castle and Dr. A. C. Howland, of the Teachers College, Dr. E. A. Singer, of Philadelphia, Prof. Wilfred H. Munro, of Brown University, Prof. E. P. Cheyney, and Dr. W. E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, have read one or more chapters. I wish to thank each one of these scholars, individually, for the interest they have taken and the aid

they have given me. Prof. J. H. Robinson, of Columbia University, has read all the proofs and suggested many improvements. My wife has assisted me, as in all my work, and the text has been changed constantly to meet her helpful comments. For one chapter I have been especially fortunate in having the criticisms of Mr. Henry C. Lea. It is fitting that I should mention him separately. To praise his scholarship would be a work of supererogation on my part; but by my study in his library and observation of his methods of working I have learned more than from any other source. For ten years I have profited by his kindness and stimulating example.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

Introduction

IN the latter part of the fourth century A. D. the Roman Empire extended from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the River Euphrates on the east. On the north it was bounded by the Rhine and the Danube; on the south by the Sahara; Britain and Egypt were the extreme outposts. Throughout this vast extent of territory every free man was a Roman citizen, Latin was the official language, and Christianity the state religion. All the government was centralized in the emperor, whose will was law. Moreover, the different portions of the empire were not held together by sheer brute force or by the presence of armies; the people were proud to be Romans and despised all non-Romans. Their forefathers had been under the sway of Rome for three hundred years and had shared in the benefits of the imperial rule. Good roads and an excellent postal service had encouraged commerce and travel. Everywhere the people had sought to imitate the customs and fashions of the capital. The whole Roman world had been unified.

There was one Church,¹ of which all Christians were

¹ Although Christians realized that there was but one Church, the word church was used in the middle ages with several different meanings, just as it is at the present day. The following definitions may be noted: a building set apart for Christian worship; the group of Chris-

members. Its organization was similar to that of the Roman Empire. In each city there was a bishop assisted by priests. In the chief city of each province there was an archbishop or metropolitan, who was the ruler of the Church in that province. He summoned the bishops frequently to councils in which were discussed matters relating to the general welfare. In this way the Church became centralized and strong. Above the archbishops were the patriarchs, who were the bishops of the most important churches. Four were recognized as having preeminence—Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. As Rome was the only patriarchate situated in the west, it had no rival when the western part of the empire became separated from the eastern. Its bishop was seldom called the Patriarch of Rome, but instead the term Pope was used. In the middle ages he was recognized as the supreme head of the Church to which all Christians in the west of Europe belonged.

The unity of the empire, but not the unity of the Church, was destroyed in the fifth century by migrations.

For five hundred years the Romans and the Germans had been learning to know each other.

Many of the latter had been brought into the empire as slaves in the days when Rome had been invincible. Later thousands had fought in the Roman armies, or had received permission to settle and defend the unoccupied lands along the northern boundary. In the fifth century whole nations invaded the western provinces, establishing German kingdoms in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. They did not come to destroy the cities or devastate the country, but to secure homes for themselves.

tian believers in any locality; the collective body of Christians in the whole world; the order of the clergy, including bishops, priests, deacons, and monks; the aggregate of ecclesiastical influence and authority. It is impossible to avoid using the word with different meanings, but it is important to distinguish the exact meaning in each case.

The population of the Roman Empire had been decreasing for centuries, and a large part of the land in the west was uncultivated. There was ample room for these newcomers, and in many places they established themselves as masters with comparatively little bloodshed. The city of Rome suffered most severely, but even there the churches were spared, for the Germans who sacked Rome had been converted to Christianity.

The great mass of the inhabitants suffered little immediate loss from the German conquests. They lived under nearly the same conditions as before, but they had new masters. The Germans were less numerous than the Romans, and never attempted to impose their own civilization upon the latter. They set up tribal governments, but they allowed the Romans to keep their own law. Living in intimate and constant association with each other, intermarriages were common, and each people had a marked influence upon the other. By the eighth century the fusion of the two races had been completed and had produced a new civilization, partly Roman, partly German.

In all the lands formerly held by Rome, except Britain, the language spoken by the people was a modified form of Latin (page 20), and not German. The schools which existed were patterned after Roman methods, and Roman text-books were used. In the arts and trades there had been a great decline in skill, but men still sought to follow the Roman models.

In its laws and government, however, the new civilization was German. The monarchy was elective, and public representative assemblies acted as a check upon the king. The free men had an exalted idea of their own importance and trusted to their own strength to obtain justice. The law regarded an accusation of crime as an attack upon a man's honor, against which he must defend himself.

The fusion of
the races.

Roman
contribution.

German
contribution.

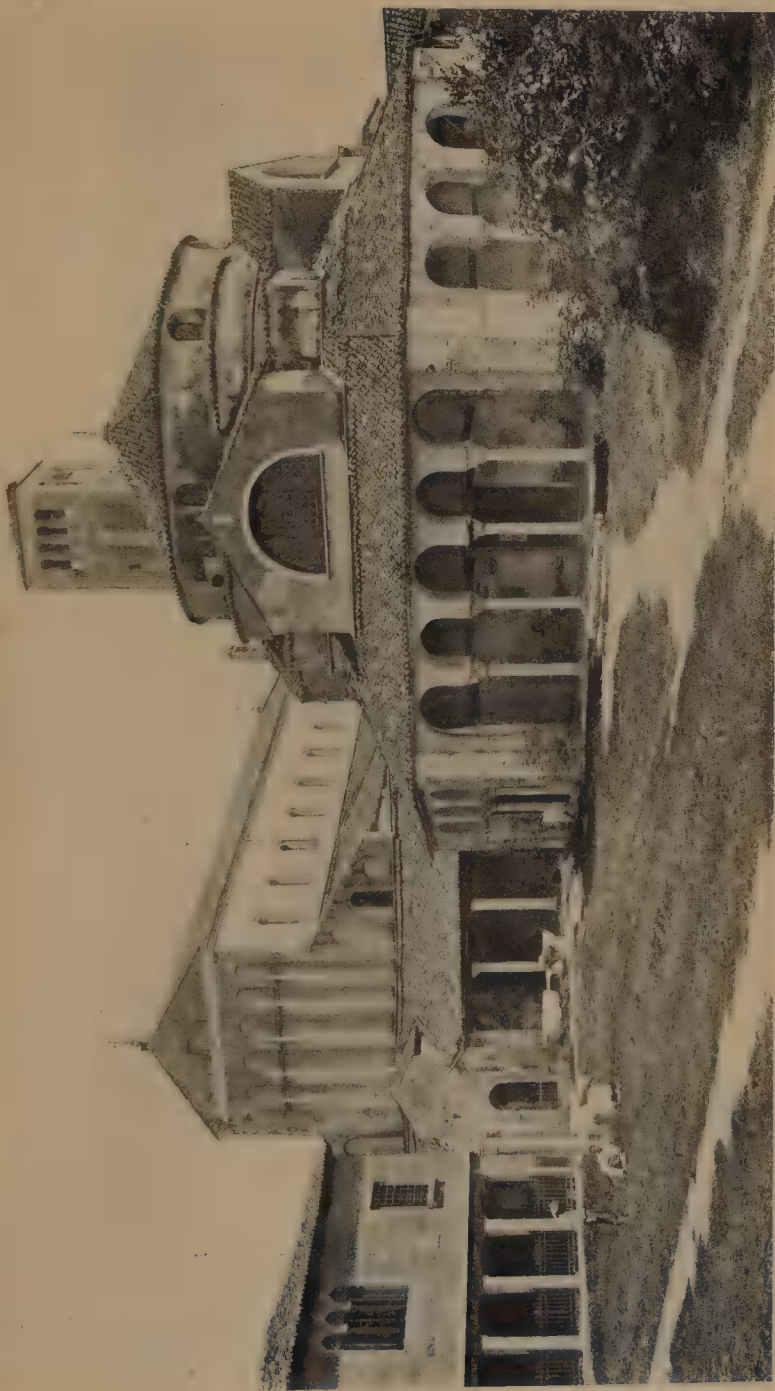
In shaping this civilization the Church had had a very important part. The only learned men were members of the clergy, whose aid the German kings were compelled to seek. The only moral restraint which the rude German warriors recognized was the authority of the Church. Consequently, as the German conquerors were confronted with new problems for which their own customs supplied no solution, they turned to the clergy for advice. The latter became the trusted councilors and officials in each of the new kingdoms. Their services were rewarded by extensive grants of land, and the Church became very wealthy.

The rulers of the Franks,¹ who had established a kingdom in what is now northern France, were especially noted as benefactors and champions of the Church. The missionaries sent out by Rome were protected by them and aided in converting the heathen neighbors of the Franks. When Pippin superseded the "do-nothing" Merovingian² ruler he sought and obtained from the Pope a decision that his action was right. When the Lombards, as the Germans who had conquered the northern part of Italy were called, threatened to wrest Rome from the Pope, Pippin conquered them and gave a large portion of their territory to the Pope. When the Lombards again became dangerous, Pippin's son, Charles the Great, reconquered them and confirmed his father's gift. The donations of Pippin and Charles the Great resulted in the formation of the Papal States.

In addition to the aid given to the missionaries and the subjugation of the Lombards, the Franks had performed another service of great importance to Christian Europe

¹ A German nation which had formerly dwelt along the lower Rhine.

² Merovingian, the name of the family to which Clovis and all the early kings belonged. The Merovingians were succeeded by the Carolingian family.



CATHEDRAL AND BAPTISTERY, TORCELLO.

had made them almost invincible soldiers. Each war against unbelievers was to them a holy war, and every Mohammedan slain in battle was a martyr who had won paradise. The Prophet had commanded that all booty should be divided fairly among the victors. The combination of enthusiastic religion, fatalism, and the prospect of booty caused Islam to be adopted eagerly by most of the inhabitants of the conquered countries.

The triumphant advance of the Mohammedans received its first great check at Constantinople in 717. The calif had sent an army of eighty thousand men and a fleet of eighteen hundred vessels, which besieged the city by land and sea for a year. Siege of Constantinople. Then the army suffered a disastrous defeat from the Bulgarians, who had come to the aid of Constantinople. This, together with the lack of provisions, compelled the Mohammedans to retreat. Their fleet was wrecked in returning home, and it is said that only thirty thousand men and five vessels escaped destruction. Thus Constantinople, by its brave resistance, had saved eastern Europe from subjugation to Islam. For three hundred and fifty years the Mohammedans did not again attempt to capture the capital of the Roman Empire.

In western Europe the task of stemming the tide of invasion was at first more difficult, as there was no great bulwark like Constantinople. But the Franks under the leadership of Charles Martel forced the Mohammedans to retreat, after a desperate battle near Tours (732), and gradually recovered all of Gaul. They did this the more easily because internal wars were sapping the strength of Islam, so that the Moors¹ in Spain ceased to be a great danger to Christianity.

The invasions of the Germans and Mohammedans had

¹ A mixed race, formed by the intermarriage of Arabs with natives of the northern coast of Africa.

EUROPE

EIGHTH CENTURY

SCALE OF MILES

0 100 200 300

CALIPHATE

GREEK EMPIRE

50

40

30



Longitude East 20 from Greenwich

30

10

0

50

40

30

wrested from the empire all of its provinces except the European possessions east of the Adriatic and a few places in Italy. The Mohammedan conquests were separated from the Christian world not only by a difference in religion, but also by the barriers of language and customs, for the conquerors had introduced everywhere the Arabic language and their own Oriental mode of living. In the countries conquered by the Germans there were many different races, each having its own dialect, laws, and customs. The Franks had succeeded in conquering many of the other races, but as yet there was no unity of feeling except the bond of a common religion. If they were to survive the attacks of their more barbarous neighbors it was necessary that they should be united more closely and become more civilized. This was the work of Charles the Great.

Result of
invasions.

REFERENCES

Emerton's *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1892) is the best short volume on the subjects included in this chapter. Robinson's *History of Western Europe* (Boston, 1903), ch. ii-vi, is an admirable brief summary.

CHAPTER II

The Empire of Charles the Great

SUMMARY.—Charles the Great, by his strong personality, was able to influence his subjects. His interest in education led him to adopt Roman customs. His religious zeal brought him into intimate relations with the papacy. As the idea of a world-wide empire, which included all Christians, was still held by thoughtful men, Charles, whose dominions were so extensive, was the logical choice for the position of emperor. His coronation brought him and his successors into still closer association with the Church. While he lived he was able to centralize the government of his dominions in his own hands. After his death the elements of weakness in the imperial constitution, especially the German principle of division, led to the rapid decline of the empire and to the rise of separate and weak kingdoms.

CHARLES was large, strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall.¹ His height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot. Description of Charles, 768-814. His appearance was always stately and dignified and his whole carriage manly. He despised foreign clothes, however splendid, and wore the national costume of the Franks. This consisted of a linen shirt and linen breeches, and over these a tunic fringed with silk; hose fastened by bands covered his lower limbs and shoes his feet. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always wore a sword. In winter he added a coat of otter- or marten-skin. On great festivals he dressed magnificently in embroidered clothes and shoes bedecked with gems, and

¹ The description is taken from the biography of Charles, written by his friend and secretary, Einhard. Charles is the only man of his time of whom such a full description has been preserved.

wore a diadem; but on other days his dress varied little from the common costume of wealthy Franks.

He was an able, fearless general. He took frequent exercise on horseback and in hunting and often practised swimming, in which he was such an adept that
 His character. none could surpass him. Although slow to anger, few dared to meet his fiery glances when he was once aroused. He was temperate in eating and especially in drinking, but he complained that church fasts were injurious to his health. He was simple in his habits and loved his native German customs. But he realized that the Roman civilization was higher and better than the German in many respects, and he strove to borrow from it all that could be serviceable to the Franks. His energy was inexhaustible.

He was a ready and fluent speaker both in his native tongue and in Latin, and he understood Greek. He tried to learn to write, but he began too late in life
 His interest in education. to succeed in accomplishing much more than his own signature. He was a zealous student, delighting especially in mathematics, astronomy, and theology. He established many schools in his kingdom and took a keen interest in the progress of the students. His own children were carefully educated under the direction of Alcuin,¹ and Charles often studied with them. He gathered together at his court all the most learned men of the age and sought their aid and instruction. He was active in reforming and enriching the Church services and paid special attention to the singing, which he often directed in person. Such is the description given of him by his contemporaries and especially by Einhard, his secretary.

¹ Alcuin, born about 735, was educated at York, England, and became the most learned man of his time. He was persuaded by Charles to become the latter's teacher. Teacher and pupil lived in close friendship until Alcuin's death in 804. See West, *Alcuin* (New York, 1893).

It is to be noted that his most important work was the fusing of the best elements in the two civilizations, Roman and German. He did not copy indiscriminately, but he chose wisely the features of the Roman culture which seemed most desirable for his people. This course resulted in a profound influence upon the future of the Germans.

INCPNTCAPL
 DIALOGEHE
 UBIMULTITUDOHOMI
 NUMINSPERATA OCCURRIT
 audire gallum descimar
 aniuirantibus locuturo
 Ubipuellam duodecennem ab

FACSIMILE OF CAROLINGIAN WRITING.

In the preceding chapter the intimate relations of the popes and the early Frankish kings have been mentioned.

His connection with the papacy. During the reign of Charles the alliance became much closer. He had conquered the Lombards and had given a part of their kingdom to the Pope. He insisted upon the adoption of Christianity by the Saxons whom he conquered. In his kingdom, in pursuance of his educational policy, he had done much to strengthen the Church, from whose officers he drew his teachers. He increased its wealth by commanding the payment of tithes by his subjects, and he himself set the example. When the people of Rome rebelled and the Pope was compelled to flee from the

city, Charles put down the rebellion and gave the Pope protection.

The grandeur of the Roman Empire still impressed the minds of men. The fourth empire in the prophecy of Daniel¹ was believed to be the Roman, which was destined to endure till the end of the world. Although the capital had been transferred to Constantinople and the empire had lost much of its territory, reverence for the imperial idea had never been lost. Men believed that there must be a Roman Empire and could not conceive of the world without one. This idea was of great importance and influence throughout the middle ages. But the Greek Empire had lost prestige in the West, as its power was no longer felt. The papacy wished to break away from connection with it because it was heretical. Irene was now Empress of Constantinople; the Germans considered it unfitting that a woman should govern, and detested her for her crimes. Charles ruled almost all the territory in the West which formerly had been under the rule of Rome, besides much that had never been Roman.

As the result of fifty or more military campaigns conducted under his direction, Charles had become the ruler of all the Germanic nations from the Baltic Sea on the north to the city of Rome on the south, from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Elbe and the Saale on the east. "He so largely increased the kingdom of the Franks, which was already great and strong when he received it from his father's hands, that more than double its former territory was added to it" (Einhard). By these conquests Charles had become more than the king of any nation or of any two or three nations. On the boundaries of his realm he was the nominal overlord of many races of barbarians; these, however, were

What the empire of Charles included.

¹ See Daniel, chap. ii, vv. 31-45.

never in subjection, except when overawed by a strong military force. Most of the kingdom actually under his sway was occupied by Germans, who were divided into many nations or tribes, differing from one another in language, laws, and customs. Some were civilized, while others were almost barbarous. Christianity was the state religion, but in many districts the precepts of Christianity were scarcely known and seldom, if ever, heeded. Among the Saxons Charles found it necessary to forbid human sacrifices to the pagan divinities and the eating of the bodies of witches.



SEAL OF CHARLES.

This rule over men of many nations, occupying such widely extended territory, made a vivid impression on the minds of his subjects. In order to describe his power, even before he was crowned emperor, they referred to it as imperial.

It seemed fitting that the king who ruled the imperial territory should be crowned emperor at the ancient capital.

Consequently, on Christmas day, 800, as Charles knelt in prayer at the altar of old St. Peter's in Rome, the Pope suddenly placed upon his head the imperial crown, and the people shouted joyously: "To Charles, most pious and august, crowned by God, the great and peace-loving emperor, be life and victory!"

Thus was the medieval empire founded, and Charles was the first of a long succession of emperors which was to end only in the nineteenth century. But

his contemporaries did not realize that there had been any new creation; they believed that the old Roman Empire was still in existence and that Charles was the direct successor of Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine. Furthermore, in the opinion of his contem-

Coronation of
Charles.

His position as
emperor.

poraries Charles had received additional importance and power by the coronation. There was to them only one emperor, and his dignity was far greater than that of any king. He was thought to be the head of the Christian Church in all secular matters as the Pope was in all spiritual matters. As a matter of fact this never was true; there were always Christian countries which were not included in the empire. Moreover, the title did not add any real power; whatever power the emperor actually had was due to his position as king. The empire had no territory, no subjects, no army, no revenues, except as these were supplied by the territory, subjects, army, and revenues of the king who was crowned emperor. These facts must be borne in mind whenever the empire is studied.

Yet Charles believed that he had received an increase of power and dignity when he became ruler of the Roman Empire. He required every one of his subjects over twelve years of age to take a new oath of obedience to him, and in this oath were included not merely the duties to the state, but also the duties to God; leading a godly life, protection to widows and orphans were enjoined in the same manner as military service or obedience to the game-laws. Charles believed that as emperor he was the vicegerent of God on earth, and in his conscientious zeal confused entirely the duties of the state and of the Church. This confusion is characteristic of the whole medieval period.

The machinery which Charles had for enforcing these orders—that is, the organization of the administrative system in his empire—was very different from that of any modern kingdom. First, there was no imperial taxation. Charles secured his income mainly from his private estates, which were merely large farms managed for his benefit. He gave much personal attention to the care of his property, and was watchful lest he might be defrauded of some of the grain grown

Charles's conception of his position.

Administrative system.

or some of the eggs which his hens laid. In fact, some writers, observing the attention which he gave to these matters, have styled him "only a German farmer." In the second place, Charles expected and received gifts each year from most of his important officials. These gifts varied in character and amount, but their total value was great. In the third place, Charles exacted fines from his subjects when they were negligent in the performance of their duties or when they were guilty of crimes. From these sources and from the spoils of war the imperial treasury was filled.

On the other hand, the expenses for the empire were very small, if compared with those of a modern government. There was little or no expenditure for the army, for the police, for internal improvements, for courts of justice, or for education. All of these functions were left to local officials, under the control of the central government, who received no salary from the treasury.

The chief among these were the counts, who were generally chosen from the most powerful families resident throughout the empire. Sometimes the counts ruled over cities and the land adjacent; sometimes they governed larger territories. The most important were those on the frontiers, who were called margraves. It was their especial duty to protect the empire from sudden invasions. Situated at a great distance from the center of power, and required to be ready constantly to act on their own initiative, they were given necessarily a large amount of power and independence. The counts and margraves were expected to maintain order and administer justice in their territories. When an army was required they levied the soldiers, saw that they were properly equipped, and led them to battle. In fact, the whole local administration of the government was practically in the hands of the counts.

The expenses.

Imperial officials.

In order to maintain control over them and to centralize the government, Charles employed special agents, who were called "*missi dominici*," or imperial messengers. These were sent out each year to the various districts of the empire. It was their duty to correct the mistakes in the local administration, to hear appeals from the judgment of the counts or margraves, to make known special laws enacted by the emperor, and in general to represent his authority. Usually two *missi* were sent out together in order that one might serve as a check upon the other, and their districts were changed every year in order to prevent collusion with the local counts. Ordinarily one of the *missi* was a layman and the other a bishop or abbot.

The leading members of the clergy played an important part in the government. They held large properties, and over these they exercised the same powers that the counts had over land not held by the Church. The position of the Church as a whole will be treated in the following chapter; here it is essential to note only the share it had in the government. The abbots and bishops administered justice, raised the troops, and acted in every way as imperial officials. This tended still more to increase the confusion between the religious duties and the political duties, which has been noted already.

That Charles had united western Europe and brought the nations together into a Christian state had been due mainly to the strength of his own personal character. His subjects respected and feared him; they admired his bravery and dreaded his anger. He was devoted to the service of the Church, but he ruled its members with a firm hand and made them aid in the imperial administration. By the force of his personality he controlled all the discordant elements in the state and founded the medieval empire. After his death

Missi dominici.

Abbots and bishops.

The influence of Charles's personality.

the empire was not strong enough to make the union permanent. It soon split up into separate kingdoms, but the memory of it was one of the cohesive forces for the future.

Where so much power was entrusted to the counts and the *missi*, it was certain to be abused whenever the emperor's eye could be eluded. Einhard says that the Elements of weakness: the officials. *missi* were frequently dishonest. It was to their interest to connive at the misdeeds of the counts. The latter were almost independent in their own counties and used their great opportunities for their own profit. There was much friction between the lay officials and the rulers of the Church. It was a period of increasing lawlessness and barbarism.

Each of the separate nations forming the empire had its own laws, customs, and dialect. They felt little interest in the empire, and were held in check only by the fear of Charles or by the need of his protection from their barbarian neighbors. Different nations.

The Franks, who were the immediate subjects of Charles and formed his greatest strength, were being destroyed by the wars which had lasted for so many years. Exhaustion of the Franks. As many were either killed or wounded and others ruined, throughout the empire it was more and more difficult to obtain men for the army. But of all the Germans, it was the Franks who suffered the most, and as there was no interval of peace, their strength and numbers gradually became exhausted.

The great extent of the empire made government difficult. The roads were extremely bad, and traveling was dangerous, as robbers lurked in the woods. It is well to remember that western Europe was very sparsely settled; that there were no railroads, no steamboats, and no telegraph. The roads and bridges which the Romans had made were being destroyed by the lapse of time, and the subjects of Charles did not Difficulties of communication.

know how to make new ones equally good. All travel by land had to be on horseback, or in carts, or on foot. On the water, rowing or towing was the usual method; as men did not know how to tack, sails were of no use except in going before the wind.

The greatest danger to the empire, however, and the real cause of its disintegration was the German habit of dividing the father's property among all the sons. When there were several sons each one was given his share. A kingdom was treated just like the estate of a wealthy man, and was parceled out so that each son should have an equal, or nearly equal, portion. At Pippin's death the kingdom had been divided between Charles and his brother. They were not in harmony, but the brother's early death prevented the kingdom from being weakened. Charles planned to divide his empire among his three sons; in this case disunion was delayed because two of the sons died before the death of Charles. The full effect of this bad policy of division was seen in the reign of his son.



SEAL OF
LEWIS THE PIOUS.

Lewis, called the Pious because of his devotion to the Church, succeeded Charles in 814, but was not equal to the task of ruling the empire. He was not a great warrior, nor was he admired and feared by his subjects as his father had been. Yet his greatest troubles arose from following in his father's footsteps, by dividing the empire among his sons.

In 817 he arranged the portions which each one of his three sons should have as a kingdom after his own death. The eldest, Lothair, was to have the lion's share and was made coemperor with his father.

Lewis I,
814 840.

Soon after this division the empress died. Lewis fell into a fit of despondency and talked of abdicating, in order to spend the rest of his life as a monk. His advisers and subjects were alarmed, as they feared that his sons were too young to rule. At first they tried in vain to shake his determination; then they planned to make him marry again. As the king showed no interest and would not choose a wife, his advisers gathered together all the fairest maidens among the nobility and brought them before the emperor. The beautiful Judith caught his fancy and became his queen. They had one son, who was known later as Charles the Bald. Judith soon acquired great influence over the emperor and used it to procure a kingdom for her son.

In 829, when the boy was seven years old, Lewis was persuaded to make a new division, taking away a portion of Lothair's share and giving it to Charles. All the older sons were angry and fearful that their father in his partiality for Charles would give him still more. From this time they were almost constantly in revolt and at war with their father or with one another. The fortune of war shifted from one side to the other, and each time a new division of the empire was made. Finally, Lewis the Pious died in 840, leaving the imperial crown to Lothair and a kingdom to each of his surviving sons. There were only three kingdoms; as one of the sons, Pippin, had died in 838, and the part intended for him had been added to the territory of Charles the Bald.

After the death of his father, Lewis the Pious, Lothair tried to secure the whole empire. In 841 he gave battle to the allied forces of his brothers, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald. The latter were victorious and Lothair suffered a decisive defeat. This battle determined the fate of the empire. The German principle of division which had been frus-

His second marriage.

Divisions of the empire.

Battle of Fontenay.

trated so often by fate had triumphed, and the lands ruled by Charles the Great were now divided into three separate kingdoms.

The brothers, however, still felt the need of union against Lothair. In 842 Lewis and Charles met at Strass-

Oath of
Strassburg. burg and took an oath to continue their alliance. This oath has been preserved, and is

of especial interest because each took the oath in the language spoken by the subjects of the other. Lewis used the following language: "*Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvaraeio cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adiudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet; et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.*" Then Charles repeated the same oath in the German language: "*In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizec indi madh furgibit, so haldih tesan minan bruodher, soso man mit rehtu sinan brucher scal, in thiû, thaz er mig sosoma duo indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne gegango, the minan willon imo ee scadhen werhen.*"¹

These are the earliest specimens which have been preserved of the Romance and Germanic languages. It is clear that the two people could not understand each other, and it is interesting to note that only one word has practically the same form in the two oaths.

In the following year the three brothers met and agreed to the treaty of Verdun. By this treaty Lewis the German

¹ Out of love for God and for the good of the Christian people and our own salvation, I will in future, from this day forth, as far as God gives to me wisdom and power, treat this my brother as one ought to treat his brother, on the condition that he does the same by me. And with Lothair I will not willingly enter into any agreement which may injure this my brother.

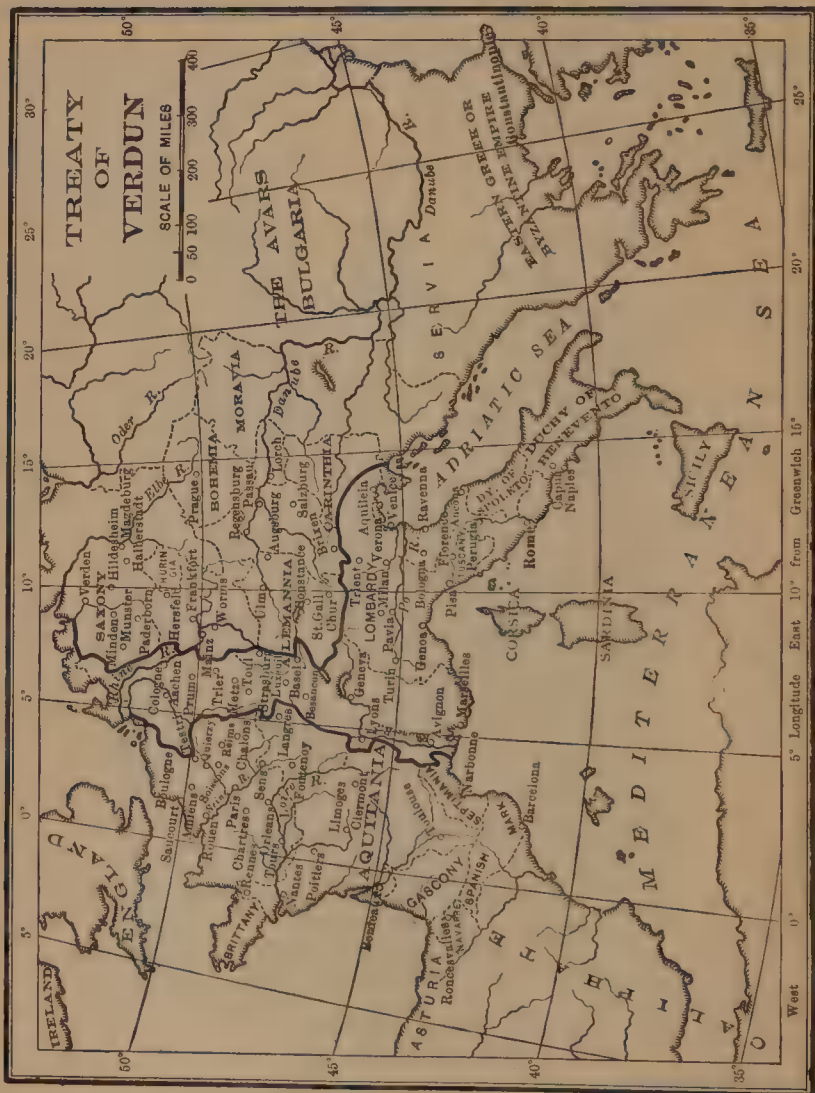
received lands inhabited almost entirely by German tribes. The possessions on the west of the Rhine were said to have been given to him so that he might have some places which would furnish him with a supply of wine. The kingdom of Charles was inhabited mainly by the descendants of Romanized Gauls. Lothair, however, had a long and comparatively narrow

Treaty of
Verdun.



CHARLES THE BALD.

strip extending from Aachen to Rome, inhabited by men of different races. In their arrangements for the division of their family property the sons of Lewis had taken no account of the physical geography. The kingdom of Lothair had no natural boundaries and was exposed to



invasion on all its frontiers; the two capitals were situated at the northern and southern extremities. It was possible for the kingdom of Lewis to develop into Germany and for the kingdom of Charles to develop into France. The empire of Lothair was destined to have no national unity and to be a bone of contention for more than a thousand years.

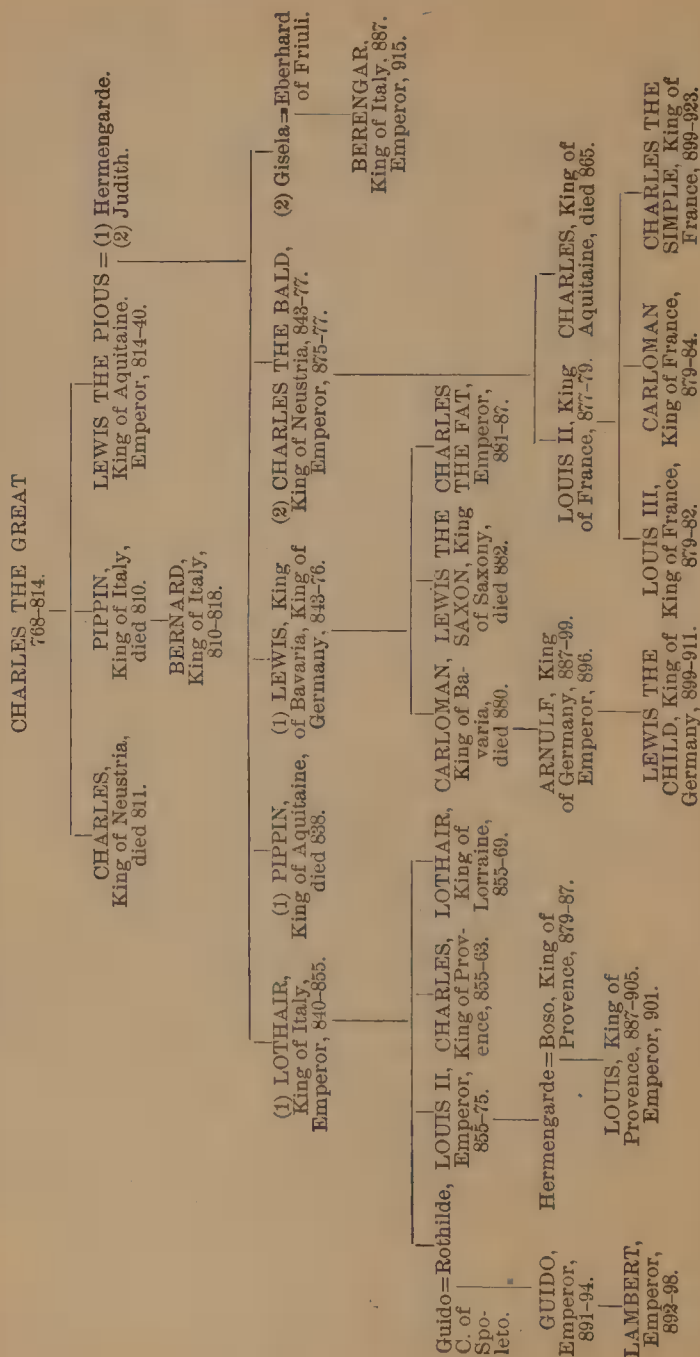
From this time the fortunes of the Frankish Empire declined. Its territories were divided and subdivided. The real heirs of Charles the Great were the dukes, counts, and bishops, who became more independent as the Carolingian rulers became weaker, for in each of the kingdoms the ruler was intent upon increasing his territory or upon securing the imperial title. In order to gain the support of his subjects for his ambitious plans, he was obliged to make constant concessions of lands and powers until he was left almost without resources for maintaining the empty titles of king and emperor.

The real heirs
of Charles.

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THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLES THE GREAT



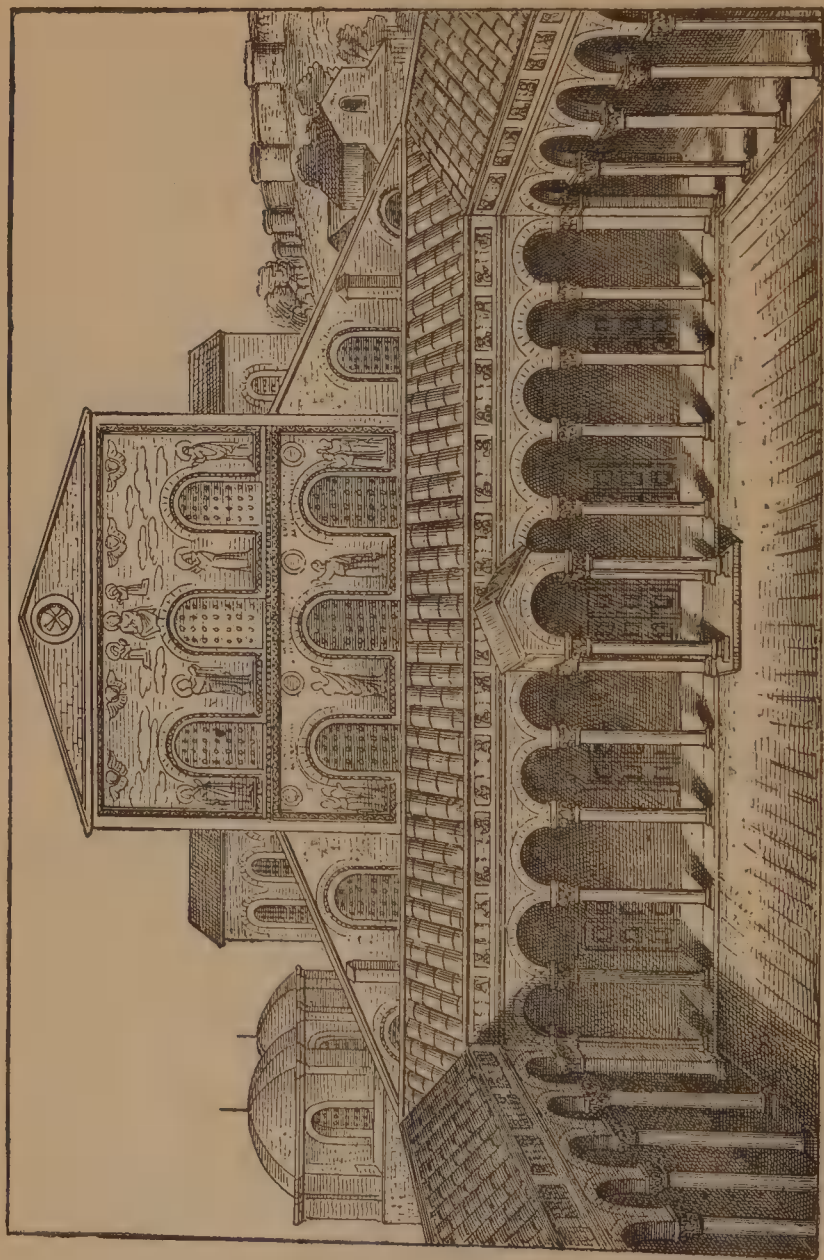
CHAPTER III

The Church

SUMMARY.—Men believed that there was but one Church, of which all Christians were members. This Church held extensive possessions and exercised jurisdiction in different ways. By its punishments it controlled the unruly; by its services to civilization it secured influence and wealth. In particular, it was the great educational agency throughout the early middle ages.

JUST as men believed in one empire which included all Christian lands, so they believed in one Church. They thought of the empire as having a real existence entirely distinct from the countries of which it was composed and as conferring upon its ruler a greater authority than that possessed by any king. In a similar manner they thought of the Church as an entity possessing property and having authority over all Christians. They therefore spoke of the power of the Church, or of a war between the Church and the Empire.

The Church was engaged in two very different tasks, although they were closely connected. On the one hand, it taught people religion and watched over their morals; on the other, it was a great governing body, ruling many with the same power and duties as a monarch. All persons on lands held by the Church were subject to this latter kind of authority and their number was very great, for the Church had extensive possessions in every country of western Europe. Part of its lands had been received as pious gifts; another part had been reclaimed from the wilderness by the labors of



OLD ST. PETER'S.

the monks ; other lands had been bought. On these it was necessary that justice should be enforced and that order should be maintained. As their territories and subjects were exposed to constant attacks from neighbors or invaders, an army was needed. The abbots and bishops who were the rulers of these estates were therefore the source of all local authority. As has been stated, they maintained order, held the courts, and raised the armies. Charles the Great summoned the bishops and abbots in the empire to act as *missi dominici*. Consequently they were not merely guides in religious matters, but also judges and officials of the king. They taught the religious duties and had power to condemn criminals to death ; they directed the schools, collected the feudal dues, and made war and peace.

The supreme authority in all matters of faith was held by the Pope, who also ruled the city of Rome and the surrounding territory. Next in rank were the
 Secular clergy. archbishops, then the bishops, and below them the parish priests, deacons, and other officials of the Church. All of these, bishops, priests, and deacons, were called the secular clergy,¹ partly because they were engaged in directing the affairs of the Church and in watching over the morals of the people, but especially to distinguish them from the regular² clergy.

The regular clergy were men and women, governed by monastic rules, who had retired from the world to live in
 Regular clergy. monasteries and to devote their lives to the service of God. There were many thousands, dwelling in almost every portion of western Europe. They had done much by their missionary journeys to spread the teachings of Christ. With a few exceptions the schools were in the monasteries, taught by them, and most of the books were written or copied by the monks. They had

¹ From *seculum*, used in the sense of "the world."

² From *regula*, a rule.

also done much for the material welfare of the people. Travelers, rich or poor, were received freely and without charge into the monasteries, which supplied the absence of inns and made traveling possible. The monks were less ignorant than the people about them, and taught their neighbors better methods of farming and working. They gave a new dignity to manual labor, which had been despised by free men, for they worked even when they were not compelled to earn their own living. St. Benedict, whose rule was followed by almost all the monks in the West, had inculcated the habit of labor, both manual and intellectual, as a pious duty. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul, and for this reason the brethren are to be engaged at fixed times in manual labor, also at certain hours in the study of sacred books."¹

In addition to the secular and regular clergy, the Church included all the inhabitants of the empire except the Jews, who were few in number. All the others were
 The laity. compelled to be Christians and to be under the authority of the Church. After conquering the Saxons, Charles the Great had commanded² that every man, woman, and child should be baptized within a year under penalty of death. He had also ordered that every one should attend services on Sunday and contribute to the support of the Church.

The primary duty of the Church was to teach religion and to keep its members from sin. In all matters of religion its officials were the judges, who deter-
 Jurisdiction of the Church. mined whether people had done right or wrong, and punished the guilty. Many things were considered religious matters which would now be judged by the state courts. As marriages were performed by the

¹ *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. xlviii. About six hours daily were to be spent in manual labor and two hours in study.

² Undated law, published between 775 and 790.

clergy, all questions connected with marriages were decided by the bishops or their representatives. Many crimes or transgressions were thought of primarily as sins, and consequently came under the jurisdiction of the Church. No Christian was exempt from this jurisdiction. Kings as well as their subjects were expected to obey in all matters of religion. As the Archbishop of Rheims wrote in the ninth century: "The king is a man just like other men. He ought to respect the Church and the property of his neighbor. His duties are the same as those of other Christians." Acting on this principle, the members of the clergy frequently condemned the actions of the kings and nobles. In some instances the Pope declared a king



BISHOP.

(After miniature of ninth to eleventh century.)

deposed and forbade his subjects to obey him, because he had been guilty of a crime against religion. Thus Lothair II, the great-grandson of Charles the Great, was declared deposed because he had divorced his wife and married again, contrary to the teachings of the Church and to the Pope's command. Lothair was compelled finally to recognize the authority of the Pope.¹

The Church enforced its power by various means. Some of its members were sincerely pious and loved to fulfil

¹ For a more famous instance of the exercise of this authority, see chap. vi.

their religious duties; but in such an age of barbarism and warfare many could be controlled only through fear. To them were preached the terrors in store for the guilty, who would suffer horrible tortures in the next world. A brutal nobleman, who feared nothing on earth, could often be reduced to obedience by a vivid description of the eternal punishment awaiting him unless he repented.

The Church's
means of
control.

The penitent were required to show their repentance by doing penance. This was a custom which had grown up in the early Church, and was based upon the feeling that a guilty man ought to show his sorrow by his actions and to make such atonement as lay in his power. Consequently a knight who had killed an opponent might be required to lay aside his arms and to engage in a work of charity, or a man who had sinned grievously might be ordered to give up his ordinary pursuits and to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint, or to Rome, or even to Jerusalem. His willingness to abandon all and to expose himself to the perils and privations of a pilgrimage would show that he was sincerely penitent. Many entered monasteries in order to atone for the evil lives which they had led.

Penance.

If a man remained obdurate and would not heed the commands of the Church, he was excommunicated—that is, he was shut out from the common life of Christians and from all association with his fellow men. If a man died excommunicate he was believed to be condemned to eternal punishment. In order to compel him to repent no one was allowed to have anything to do with him; even the members of his own family were excommunicated if they ate with him or befriended him.

Excommunica-
tion.

In case a ruler was obstinate and would not submit, even when excommunicated, his land was placed under an interdict. In all his territory no public church services

were held, no marriages were performed, no dead bodies were given burial. "The people were forbidden to enter the churches for the purpose of worshipping God, and the doors were locked. The music of the bells was silenced and the bodies of the dead lay unburied and putrefying, striking the beholders with fear and horror. The pleasures of marriage were denied to those desiring them, and the solemn joys of the church services were no longer known."¹ By such deprivations the people would be reduced to distress and terror, and usually the ruler had to yield.

It would be unjust, however, to ascribe the hold which the Church of our ancestors had upon the people to its terrors and punishments, for these were intended only for the guilty. Its power was secured mainly because of the useful services which it performed. Some of the good which the monks did has been referred to already. The secular clergy were the spiritual guides of their parishioners; they baptized, married, and buried the people. The priest was the leader in the parish and the churches were the gathering-places not only for religious services, but also for social diversions. Sunday was the holiday for the hard-working population, and it was spent in or near the church. In addition to the religious services, which all attended, the priest would read to the people letters from the absent—especially during the time of the crusades—and would announce any news that he had heard. Often between the morning and evening services there were games or other amusements. The church was for the peasants the center of all their social life. Naturally when such power and influence were in the hands of the priest there were some unworthy of their vocation—some bad men who sought the office and

¹ From an interdict laid in Normandy in 1137. See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 4.

did not perform its duties. Ambitious men were especially tempted to obtain the bishoprics on account of the great power and wealth which a bishop had ; sometimes a worldly layman was given a bishopric by a king who wanted to reward a favorite. In a time of such general ignorance the members of the clergy were not always much more learned than the people under their charge. The church councils labored earnestly to correct these evils and to compel all members of the clergy to lead righteous lives. Sometimes the reformers took a gloomy view of the times in which they lived, and thought that the morals were declining. At the present time it is possible to contrast the condition of society at the end of the middle ages with the society in the feudal period and to realize the enormous advance which had been made. This advance was due mainly to the influence of the clergy, as they were for centuries the only teachers of the people.

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CHAPTER IV

The Invasions

SUMMARY.—The weakness of the Carolingian monarchs exposed their kingdoms to invasions by Saracens, Slavs, Hungarians, and Northmen. The last were by far the most dangerous foes. Their constant raids and the rapidity of their movements compelled the people in each locality to seek aid from any strong man who could protect them. Consequently the nobles who held castles, which served as places of refuge, and had military forces to defend the peasants, gradually became all-powerful in the different parts of the kingdoms. In return for their protection they demanded services and pay from the people.

AFTER the death of Lewis the Pious in 840 there was no strong central government, for his sons were engaged in constant warfare. Busy with attempts to gain more territory, they were unable to keep order in their own kingdoms, and, being jealous of one another, they did not join together to repel invaders. Within each kingdom the means of communication were bad, so that news traveled slowly; and the roads were out of repair, so that soldiers could not be sent rapidly from one part of the kingdom to another. Furthermore, no feeling of patriotism or nationality led the inhabitants in one section to help the people in another. Because of this weakness and disunion the frontiers were harried repeatedly by invaders, and even the interior of the country was never secure from attack.

In the south the Saracens from Spain and northern Africa made constant raids, sacking the towns on the coast of Italy and the cities in southern Gaul, where they plun-

dered the monasteries and burned the churches. One place after another was laid waste by them, and neither the

The Saracens. Eastern emperor nor the German kings could protect their subjects. In 827 they began the conquest of Sicily, which was completed after half a century of war with the Greek emperor. They devastated the country about Rome, and even sacked the Church of St. Peter, which was not within the limits of the city walls. After they had been defeated Pope Leo built a great wall around that portion of Rome where St. Peter's and the Vatican now stand, and this enclosure was called in his honor the Leonine city. Soon after this the Saracens conquered Corsica, Sardinia, and most of southern Italy.

Slavs and Hungarians. The eastern frontiers were attacked by the Slavs and Hungarians. The former ravaged Thuringia and conquered Moravia. Along the Danube the Hungarians, or Magyars, as they called themselves, made swift raids, pillaging the country. They were savages who traveled on horseback, and swooping down without warning on some town or village, they would kill all the men and old women, sparing only the boys and maidens, whom they carried into slavery. They were famous for their greed, and there was a saying current among the Germans that if a piece of gold were placed on the grave of a dead Hungarian he would put up his hand to seize it.

The Northmen. The most dangerous of all the invaders were the Northmen, who came from the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These people were still pagans and far more barbarous than the inhabitants of the Carolingian kingdoms. They were accustomed to life on the sea and were hard fighters. Tempted by their love of adventure and the desire for gain, they made plundering expeditions along the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland. At first these were of little importance, but in the ninth century revolutions in Norway and

Denmark led to an enormous increase in the number of Northmen who engaged in marauding expeditions; for two great kingdoms were established in these countries by monarchs who maintained order and forced all who would not submit to their power to leave the land. Then piracy became the principal occupation of the outlaws, who built long open boats which would hold about sixty to eighty men and which could be propelled either by oars or sails.



BOAT FOUND AT NYDAM IN SCHLESWIG.

These boats drew little water and could be concealed very easily.¹ The chiefs of these bands of vikings, as the Northmen were called, “never sought refuge under a roof nor emptied their drinking-horns by a hearth.” “The eager prince would drink his Yule at sea and play Frey’s game [war] if he had his will. From his youth up he loathed the fire-boiler [hearth] and sitting indoors, the warm bower, and the bolster full of down.”

Their method of attack was to ascend some river, hide their boat in a favorable spot, and then fall upon the nearest village. If they

Method of
attack.

¹ Three of these boats have been found in modern times buried in swamps in Denmark and Sweden. The best preserved is 75 feet in length (60 feet along the keel), 15 feet wide, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep amidships. It had 16 oars on each side.

met with a determined resistance they would feign a flight; but when the enemy scattered in pursuit they would form again and renew the attack.

“They are well cared for, the warriors that cast dice in Harold’s court. They are endowed with wealth and with fair swords, with the ore of the Huns, and with maids from the East. They are glad when they have hopes of a battle; they will leap up in hot haste and ply the oars, snapping the oar-thongs and cracking the tholes. Fiercely, I ween, do they churn the water with their oars at the king’s bidding.” “Ships came from the West ready for war, with grinning heads and carven beaks. They were laden with warriors, with white shields, with Western spears, and Welsh [Gaulish] swords. They tried their strength against the eager king, the Lord of the Eastmen that dwells at Outstone, and he taught them to flee. The king launched his ship when he looked for the battle.” “The flying javelin bit, peace was belied there, the wolf was glad, and the bow was drawn, the bolts clattered, the spear-points bit, the flaxen bow-string bore the arrows out of the bow. He brandished the buckler on his arm, the rouser of the play of blades—he is a mighty hero.”¹

In order to capture larger towns and thus secure more booty, many vikings would join together. In the summer they gathered their boats near some island which they fortified, and from this as a center made raids upon the surrounding country. When the invasions first began they returned home each fall with their “summer harvest.” Later on, as a matter of convenience or of necessity, because the leaders had been outlawed, they made winter camps on islands near the mouth of the Seine, Loire, and other rivers.

Descriptions
from sagas.

Camps on
island.

¹ The sagas are popular legends of the Northmen, describing their prowess and combats.

In 795 they made a descent on the coast of Ireland. In 841 and the succeeding years different bands sacked many parts of Gaul. A contemporary chronicler writes: "The Northmen, as they were wont to do, put the Christians to shame and grew more and more in strength. But it is a sorrow to have to write these things." Charles the Bald built fortified bridges to

prevent the invaders from ascending rivers, but he was not able to defend these bridges.

Another contemporary wrote: "All men give themselves to flight. No one cries out, '*Stand and fight for your fatherland, for your Church, for your countrymen.*' What they ought to defend with arms they shamefully redeem by payments. The commonweal of Christendom is betrayed by its guardians." In 885 seven

hundred or more vessels were gathered together to besiege Paris; after a siege of a year the emperor, Charles the Fat, bought the invaders off by a bribe and an invitation to plunder northern Burgundy. In the same century some Northmen went as far as Constantinople and entered into the service of the emperor of the East. Others under Hastings attacked the Moors in Spain, ascended the Guadalquivir, and sacked Seville. Later Hastings made descents on the Italian coast, plundering Pisa and Luna. In 867 most of the piratical bands of Northmen attacked England and were so successful that in 878, by the peace of Wedmore, the Danes were recognized as masters of the north of England. In 911 Duke Rollo received a grant of Normandy from the French king under the condition that he should defend it. From this time on the Normans, as

Various
expeditions.



PLAQUE OF GOLD, REPRESENTING
NORTHERN DEITIES.

they soon came to be called, were one of the most important peoples of Europe.

These constant invasions showed the weakness of the kings, and the people soon learned that they could expect little help from their sovereigns. In every place which was exposed to invasions—and no part of western Europe was safe from them—the inhabitants were compelled to provide for their own defense.¹ The nobles built castles which served as places of refuge for the neighboring peasants. For the sake of protection little villages were built usually at the foot of the hills on which the castles stood. In the larger towns the people built stronger walls and towers, but they trusted to a great extent in the protection which their noble lord could furnish. Consequently these invasions made the people of each district look to resident nobles for the defense which the king was unable to give.

The lord of the castle was compelled to perform the duties of the king, and wherever a warlike noble could furnish protection he was recognized as the chief power; he collected the taxes, administered justice, and led the people in battle. Consequently northern and western Europe became divided up into small local units under the lordship of fighting nobles, and the king was forced to recognize their power. He had to depend upon them when he needed an army, and in return for their aid he legalized their position and agreed not to interfere with their administration of justice; he did the same for the abbots and bishops, who occupied the same position and had the same power as the lay nobles. In 847 a law was passed that every free man must have a lord who would be responsible for him and whom he must serve. He was to

Necessity of
local defense.

Power of the
nobles.

Capitulary of
Mersen, 847.

¹ A special petition was added to the church service: "From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us!"

serve and obey only his immediate lord unless there was a general invasion of the kingdom, which would make it necessary for the king to summon all the men. The weakness of the kings and the necessity of granting power to the nobles resulted in the establishment of feudal usages throughout western Europe.

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CHAPTER V.

Feudalism

SUMMARY.—The powers which had been exercised by the kings passed into the hands of the nobles, and feudal usages superseded monarchical. The elements which shaped European feudalism were the practise of commendation, the bestowal of fiefs, and the grants of immunity. The lords owed duties to their vassals and had the right to demand from the latter services. All political, social, and economic conditions were determined by feudal customs.

IN many countries society has passed through a feudal stage. Wherever the central authority has proved too weak to defend its subjects and to maintain order it has been necessary for some one else to perform these duties. In such a case the one who offered efficient aid demanded in return obedience and compensation from those whom he protected. Ancient Egypt for some centuries was governed chiefly by feudal nobles, and in Japan until a generation ago feudalism was the recognized condition of affairs.

In western Europe, after the decline of the Carolingian empire, the weakness of the kings, the difficulty in going from one place to another, the lack of any feeling of unity among the different peoples, and the need of protection against the Northmen and other invaders, made it necessary to arrange some means of defense in each locality. Usually some nobleman became the defender and ruler, and although kings still continued to rule in name, the actual power passed gradually in each district to the nobles.

This change took place more easily because the nobles under earlier rulers had acted as the king's agents in the government.

In order to understand their position it is necessary to study the customs which shaped feudalism. The elements which determined the form of European feudalism were three in number: the practise of commendation, the holding of benefices or fiefs, and the possession of immunities. Commendation was the act by which a free man became the vassal of some other man. In order to obtain food and clothing, or to secure protection, or to increase his own importance, a man might *commend* himself to some one more powerful—a noble, or a bishop, or an abbot—who became his lord; that is, the man promised to serve the lord faithfully, to aid him in fighting or with advice; in short, to be his vassal. In return the lord promised support and protection. The vassal did not lose his position as a free man and did not sink at all in the social scale. The nobles welcomed vassals because of the added importance and strength which it gave to them to have a large body of followers. A typical formula of commendation reads: "Since it is known familiarly to all how little I have whence to feed and clothe myself, I have therefore petitioned your piety, and your goodwill has decreed to me that I should hand myself over or commend myself to your guardianship, which I have thereupon done—that is to say, in this way: that you should aid and succor me as well with food as with clothing, according as I shall be able to serve you and deserve it. And so long as I shall live I ought to provide service and honor to you, suitably to my free condition; and I shall not during the time of my life have the ability to withdraw from your power or guardianship, but must remain during the days of my life under your power or defense."¹

¹ See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

A benefice or a fief¹ was usually a grant of land made by a lord to a vassal. Such a grant might be made for various reasons. In the first place, money was scarce and little used; when the king appointed a count or other official to govern a portion of the kingdom, he paid him no salary in money, but instead he gave him land which would produce food and other necessities. In return the official became his vassal. When a nobleman needed soldiers he hired them by giving them land in return for their services, and they became his vassals. Often men who owned land, and needed protection, handed it over to some more powerful person as a gift on condition of receiving it back as a benefice. In this way they became the vassals of the lord to whom they had transferred the land. As will be seen below, they lost little by giving up their title to the property, and they often secured powerful protection. Sometimes as a pious act they gave land to the Church, and received it back as a benefice. When a man was granted a fief the land did not actually belong to him, but he had the use of it and the profits arising from it. Usually he made a payment in money or produce, each year, to the lord, not as rent, but as a recognition that the land belonged to the lord. Generally his son, if he had one, succeeded to the fief, and the same land was held by the same family, generation after generation.

Gradually almost all the allodial, or freehold property, was changed into benefices and fiefs, and it became a legal maxim that there was no land without a lord. This was never quite true, as there was always some land which was held allodially. But the theory was framed that the king held his kingdom from God, and the vassals held directly or indirectly from the

¹ The words benefice and fief are used here as synonyms. In the middle ages each word was used with several different meanings. The most usual definition for a fief was land for which the vassal, or hereditary holder, paid to the direct owner, or lord, services of a particular

king. By the time that feudal customs had become thoroughly established—that is, in the tenth and eleventh centuries—there was no absolute ownership of land; each vassal had merely the use of his benefice or fief. Land-holding formed the main basis of feudal obligations; but the old personal bond of service and loyalty, represented by commendation, never disappeared entirely.

When a lord had a large amount of land he kept such a

Subinfeudation.

portion of it

as was necessary for his own support, and divided the rest into fiefs in order to gain followers. Thus a count might receive a county from the king for his services; he would then gradually divide up his county into larger or smaller parcels, and grant most of these as fiefs to others; they in turn might grant the whole or portions of their fiefs to others, and the latter would

be the vassals of the one from whom they received the land—i. e., vassals of the vassals of the count, who was

kind, such as military service. A benefice differed from a fief in not being hereditary (Luchaire).



CAROLINGIAN EMPEROR.

himself a vassal of the king. This process is called subinfeudation.

The third of the elements which shaped European feudalism was the immunity. As the kings became weaker it was impossible for them to repress disorder and crime; they were unable to hold courts and punish offenders in the various parts of the kingdom. Consequently it became the custom of the king to delegate his authority in this respect to his vassals. They were permitted to hold courts on their own estates, and the king promised that no royal official should enter their fiefs to hold court. This privilege was called an immunity. The vassals valued this immunity, because the penalty for almost all wrongdoing consisted of fines, usually in money, which went to the one holding the court. Thus an immunity not only added to the vassal's power, but was also a source of income. A typical formula of immunity reads: "We have seen fit to grant to that apostolic man, Lord —, Bishop of —; that in the lands of the Church of that Lord, no public judge shall at any time presume to enter for the hearing of causes or for the exaction of payments; but the prelate himself or his successors . . . shall be able to rule over this. We require, therefore, that neither you, nor any other public judicial power, shall presume at any time to enter into the lands of the same Church anywhere in our kingdom, either those granted by royal bounty or by that of private persons or those which shall in future be granted; either for the sake of hearing altercations or to exact fines for any causes or to obtain sureties. But whatever the Treasury could expect either of fines or other things either from freemen or from servants and other nations who are within the fields or boundaries or dwelling upon the lands of the aforesaid Church; by our indulgence for our future welfare, shall be profitable for the expenses of the same Church by the hand of those ruling it, forever."¹ It was

¹ See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

usual in granting a fief to include the immunity, and such a combined grant reads: "We have decreed that *so and so* should have conceded to him *such and such a place* in its entirety, with the lands, houses, buildings, villeins, slaves, vineyards, woods, fields, meadows, pastures, waters or water-courses, grist-mills, additions, appurtenances, or any kind of men who are subjected to our Treasury who dwell there; in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of holding the pleas of any kind of causes. Thus he may have, hold and possess it in proprietary right and without expecting the entrance of any of the judges; and may leave the possession of it to his posterity, by the aid of God, from our bounty, or to whom he will; and by our permission he shall have free power to do whatever he may wish with it for the future."¹

By the end of the ninth century feudalism had become established throughout the lands which had formed the Carolingian empire. Practically the whole territory was divided into fiefs or benefices; all freemen were either vassals or lords; many were vassals and at the same time lords; on almost every fief the possessor had the right of immunity. This condition of affairs continued for several centuries. The period from the ninth to the fourteenth century is called frequently the age of feudalism.

Generally a lord had a number of vassals, and these, together with their lord, or suzerain, formed a feudal group.

When the vassals served as soldiers the feudal group became an army; in times of peace the group formed a little state. The lord, with the aid and advice of his vassals, administered justice and governed the fief. The inhabitants of his lands owed service only to the lord; except for the Church they were practically free from all other authority.

¹ See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

The vassals were the most important class, but they formed only a small part of the population. They were all held to be noblemen and they were all warriors; consequently others had to support them.

Vassals.

The others were the villeins and the serfs, who cultivated the soil, or who carried on the handicrafts and trade in the

cities, and

The villeins and serfs.

by their labor furnished the means of subsistence for the whole group. They were subject to the lord or vassal on whose estate they lived, and from whom they held their lands, but not by feudal tenure. For,



STONE HURLER.

instead of aiding in warfare or by counsel, they paid rent in money and produce and also worked for their lord. Their life will be described later.¹ In addition to the nobles, who formed the ruling class and did the fighting, and the serfs in the country or towns, there was a third class in the community, the members of the clergy. Although they, as well as the inhabitants of the cities, belonged originally either to the nobility or the

Clergy.

peasantry, they were in some ways distinct from either. The chief officials of the Church were the equals of the nobility; the parish priests were in many respects the equals of the peasantry among whom they lived. But no impassable barrier existed between the Pope and the humblest member of the clergy. By ability the son of a serf

¹ See Chap. XIV.

might rise to be Pope. The Church was always democratic in theory and offered a chance for any bright boy to rise to the highest rank.

Each vassal was obliged to do homage and take the oath of fealty to his lord. The act of homage was as follows: "The count asked if he was willing to become completely his man, and the other replied, 'I am willing'; and with clasped hands, surrounded by the hands of the count, the vassal and lord were bound together by a kiss."¹ Homage was followed and completed by the oath of fealty. "I promise on my faith that I will in future be faithful to Count William, and will observe my homage to him completely against all persons in good faith and without deceit."² In addition the vassal usually gave to his lord some object as a visible symbol of his obligations—e. g., a weapon such as a sword or a lance, a horse, or some article of wearing apparel.

In addition to the general obligation of faithful service contained in his oath of fealty, the vassal owed to his lord other very definite services. In the first place he must fight for him when summoned. Ordinarily he was obliged to serve at his own expense in the lord's army for forty days each year; if the lord wished him to serve for a longer time the lord must pay his expenses. In case of a foreign war he was not obliged to serve outside of the kingdom after forty days were completed, unless he was willing to do so. In the second place the vassal must aid his lord in holding court. When he was summoned he must act as judge or assistant in trying cases. If he was engaged as plaintiff or defendant in a lawsuit he must take the suit to the lord's court and submit to the judgment of the lord and his own peers—i. e., his fellow vassals. In the third place the vassal

¹ Homage and Fealty to the Count of Flanders, A. D. 1127. See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

² Ibid.

must assist the lord with his advice. Whenever he was summoned he must go and, with the other vassals, form a council of state to deliberate on all questions of common interest.

In theory the vassal was not supposed to be taxed by the lord, for, as a noble holding his fief by feudal tenure, he was free from all money payments. This
The feudal aids. was the great distinction between feudal or noble tenures and villein or ignoble tenures in which regular payments had to be made. But cases might arise when the vassal was obliged to furnish his lord with money; such payments were called aids and were always considered exceptional. The theory was that when the lord was in great need of money the vassal by the oath of fealty was obliged to aid him. The three customary aids everywhere were: 1. Contributions to pay the expenses incurred in knighting the lord's eldest son.¹ 2. Contributions to furnish a dowry for the lord's eldest daughter. 3. Contributions to pay the lord's ransom if he was made a prisoner. In addition, when it became the custom to go on a crusade, the vassal was expected to aid the lord in the cost of equipment for his journey. On some fiefs the vassal was also required to contribute toward the expense when his lord was summoned to visit the overlord or when the lord went on a pilgrimage to Rome. In England only the three customary aids were recognized.

The lord was held by the feudal contract to certain obligations toward his vassal. The two most important
Obligations of the lord. were that he should see that his vassal received just treatment, and that he should protect his vassal in the enjoyment of his fief.

The lords granted fiefs for the purpose of securing service from their vassals. If a vassal died, leaving a son who was old enough, the latter received
Relief. the fief, but he was expected to pay for the

¹ See Chap. XIII.

privilege. This payment was called a relief, and frequently amounted to the income from the fief for one year.

If, when the father died, the son was not yet of age, the lord managed the fief until the son became of age. During the interval the lord was expected to support the heir, but all the income from the fief was his. This arose from the fact that the fief owed to the lord the service of a full-grown man, and consequently when the heir was too young the income belonged to the lord.

If the vassal left a widow or a daughter, and no son, the widow or daughter passed under the control of the lord.

He could give them in marriage to any one whom he chose, for the fief must furnish a man for his service; and if the widow, or heiress, were allowed to marry any one whom she chose, the fief might pass into the hands of an enemy, and the lord would thus be deprived of his just due. On the English Exchequer Rolls of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were many items like the following: "Alice, countess of Warwick, renders account of £1,000 and 10 palfreys to be allowed to remain a widow as long as she pleases and not to be forced to marry by the king."

"Hawisa, who was wife of William Fitz Robert, renders account of 130 marks and 4 palfreys that she may have peace from Peter of Borough to whom the king has given permission to marry her; and that she may not be compelled to marry."¹

There were many minor obligations rising from the feudal relations, but it is unnecessary to attempt to describe them all. They varied in different countries and different fiefs, for the most striking fact about feudalism is the great diversity in customs which existed at the same time—there was no system. Furthermore, there was no orderly hierarchy. The king might

¹ See *Translations and Reprints*, vol. iv, No. 3.

hold a fief from one of his own subjects. A knight might hold a fief from a dozen different lords; in such a case he owed obligations to all, but personal service to only one, who was called his liege lord.

As is evident from the description that has been given, feudalism included a plan of government and a system of land-holding. A man's position in society was

Use of the word
"feudalism."

fixed by his feudal relations. So feudalism

is often used as a collective name for all the social and governmental relations which existed in western Europe from the ninth to the fourteenth century. The Church was no exception, as its lands were held feudally, and for each fief the abbot or bishop must furnish one or more soldiers to his lord. The surplus lands of the Church were granted to nobles as benefices or fiefs. The abbot or bishop on his fief performed all the duties that the lay lord performed under similar circumstances. In the cities especially the bishops had feudal rights, holding the courts, coining money, and taxing the merchants and artisans.

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CHAPTER VI

The German Kingdom (to 1122)

SUMMARY.—The early kings of Germany were occupied in making their power effective over the different tribes and in repelling invasions. Under Otto the Great both tasks had been so nearly accomplished that he turned his attention to Italy. The local conditions there made it easy for him to obtain the imperial crown. His son and grandson wasted the resources of Germany in attempting to rule Italy. The succeeding kings were forced to devote their energies to reestablishing the royal authority in Germany. This was done so thoroughly that the power of Henry III was greater than that of any preceding king. In order to reform the Church he devoted much of his time to Italy. The papacy became strong, and endeavored to free the Church from all imperial control. This led to the investiture struggle which weakened Germany and resulted in an indecisive compromise.

By the treaty of Verdun, in 843, the separation of the empire into three kingdoms was recognized. Of these the East-Frankish, or German, seemed in some respects the weakest, as its inhabitants were the least advanced in civilization and were divided into separate peoples—Saxons, Franconians, Alemanni or Swabians, and Bavarians. Each had its own distinctive customs, and at the head of each was a duke, who was its hereditary sovereign. Franconia and Saxony were the most powerful duchies.

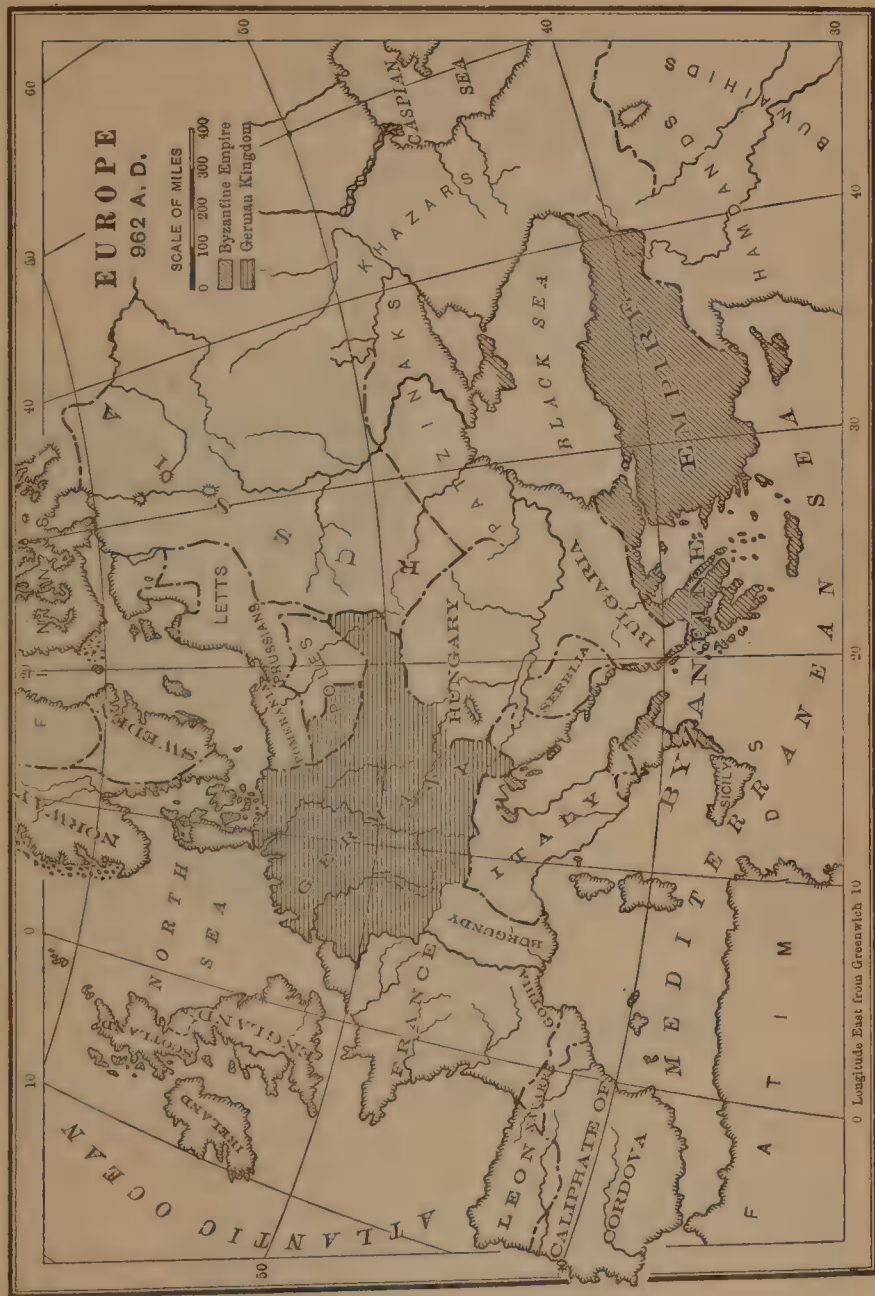
The last of the German Carolingians died Conrad I, in 911, and the duke of Franconia, Conrad I, 911-918. was chosen king by the nobles. But in his reign of seven years he was unable to make the other dukes obey him or to check the invasions of the Hungarians. On

his death-bed, realizing the need of a strong ruler, he designated his most powerful rival and enemy as his successor.

The latter, Henry I, called the Fowler, spent almost the whole of his reign in wars against the Slavs, Danes, Bohemians, Poles, Hungarians, and other invaders. On the frontiers of his kingdom he constructed many castles as places of refuge and centers of defense against sudden raids. He built and fortified so many towns that he was called Henry "the builder of cities." Instead of using foot-soldiers, he formed an army of light cavalry, which could move with great rapidity. In 933 he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hungarians, who were the most dreaded of all the invaders. In a war with the king of France, Charles the Simple, he conquered Lorraine. His successes in war made him both respected and feared by the dukes, so that in the last years of his life he was universally obeyed, and was the king of Germany in fact, as well as in name.

Before his death Henry recommended the nobles to choose his son Otto for their king. Consequently the nobles and bishops met at Aachen and proclaimed Otto, "proposed by his father, chosen by God, and made king by the princes." At first the dukes were submissive to the new king, but as they were anxious to regain their former independence they engaged in frequent rebellions. Otto conquered the dukes and, in order to prevent future rebellions, took away some of their powers. Moreover, he did not allow the people to choose their own dukes, but took the appointment into his own hands. He also created new officials, the counts palatine, whose duty it was to watch over the king's interest and to keep an eye on the dukes.

Otto gave the most important bishoprics to his own relatives, and drew the leading members of the Church into the service of the state. His brother Bruno was made archbishop of Cologne, and many of his most important



officials were bishops or abbots. His policy in the government of Germany was to increase the power and wealth of the clergy in order to offset the power of the dukes. On the other hand, he insisted that the clergy should perform all their duties as feudal lords; as the bishops and abbots held fiefs they were obliged to lead their vassals to the royal army and to assist the king with their advice and contributions whenever their aid was needed.

The first twenty years of his reign were occupied mainly in organizing

Defeat of
Hungarians.

his kingdom and in checking invasions. The dukes, in their revolts, had sought aid from the Hungarians, and in 954 a great invasion had swept over the whole breadth of the kingdom. In 955, on the banks of the river Lech, Otto annihilated a Hungarian army, and his victory was so decisive that their incursions ceased.

His successes made his power secure in his own king-

Conditions in
Italy.

dom; but Otto was ambitious and the condition of affairs in Italy led him to seek the imperial crown. For a century the title of emperor had been held by unimportant rulers who had received this dignity from the hands of the Pope; but no one of them had possessed any real authority outside of his own petty kingdom. In Italy, as elsewhere, the real power was in the hands of feudal nobles. Most of the south was nominally in subjection to the eastern empire, but portions



OTTO THE GREAT AND HIS WIFE,
EDITH.

of it had been conquered by the Saracens. At Rome rival nobles fought for the control of the city, and the successful party treated the papacy as a part of the spoils.

In 951 the aid of Otto was sought by one of the contending parties. He made an expedition into Italy, but before much was accomplished he was called back to Germany by a rebellion. In 961 he made a second expedition, and was crowned at Milan with the iron crown¹ of Lombardy. He then proceeded to Rome, which he entered without opposition, and on February 2, 962, was

Otto I made
emperor.

crowned emperor of the Roman Empire. By the men of his day he was regarded as the successor of Augustus, Trajan, Constantine, and Charles the Great. But the empire was something very different from the old Roman Empire or the empire of Charles. It was a union of Italy and Germany, and is best described as the Roman Empire of the German nation. Still, much of the prestige of the old Roman Empire survived, and the emperor was regarded in western Europe as the head of the Christian world.

His son and grandson, Otto II and Otto III, spent most of their time in Italy endeavoring to make Rome their capital and to rule as emperors. They neg-

Otto II,
973-982; Otto
III, 983-1002.

lected Germany to a great extent, using it mainly as a source of supplies from which to draw men and money for their Italian campaigns. Consequently, Germany suffered again from the invasions of the Danes and Slavs. Hungary, which had been subject to Otto the Great, became an independent kingdom. The German nobles began new rebellions, and the country was a prey to private warfare.

Henry II,
1002-1024.

Henry II and Conrad II, who were kings in succession after Otto III, instead of being

¹ So called because it was said to contain a circular band made out of a nail from the cross on which Christ was crucified.

dazzled by a dream of ruling as Roman emperors, tried to be strong kings in Germany. Each one at the beginning of his reign had to put down rebellions of the nobles, and had great difficulty in preventing private wars among his vassals. Each one was crowned emperor at Rome after he had succeeded in establishing order at home. Conrad II added the kingdom of Burgundy to the German possessions, and made the king's power so fully respected that his son was not troubled by rebellions.

Conrad II,
1024-1039.

The latter, Henry III, was able, pious, and successful. He made Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary subject nations, and under his rule Germany became stronger than ever before. He worked earnestly to raise the clergy to a higher moral standard, and encouraged education and the development of the arts. Having succeeded so well at home, he turned his attention to Italy. That country, left mainly to itself by the preceding kings, was in an evil plight. Rome, in particular, was given over to the rule of unprincipled men, and unworthy popes had disgraced the apostolic see. In 1046 there were three rival popes, each of whom claimed to be the successor of St. Peter. Henry caused all three to be deposed and a German bishop to be elected in their stead, and during the remaining years of his reign he nominated the popes. Unfortunately for his aims and for the prosperity of Germany, he died in the prime of life when he was only thirty-nine years old, and left as his heir a boy of six, Henry IV.

Henry III,
1039-1056.

The rebellions in Germany began again, as the nobles sought to regain their former independence. The queen-mother who had acted as regent lost all power and withdrew from all participation in politics or government, and the nobles who ruled in the name of the king aroused bitter enmity by unwise actions. The inhabitants of Saxony were especially discontented, partly on account of actual wrongs and partly

Henry IV,
1056-1106, and
the Saxons.

because of dangers which they imagined. Henry, having reached the age of manhood, was ruling in his own name when the storm broke. The Saxons rose in such a sudden, unexpected revolt that the king, who was in their land, barely escaped with his life. Many of the other nobles joined the Saxons, and the rebellion became so formidable that Henry was forced to treat with the rebels and to submit to humiliating conditions, in February, 1074. But at the moment when his position was most desperate the prosperous cities in the Rhine valley declared for him, and he was able to induce the nobles in the south of Germany to remain neutral. Even then he had to agree that all the royal fortresses in Saxony should be destroyed by the Saxons themselves. The Saxons razed the fortresses, desecrated the royal tombs, and destroyed a church. Their violence and sacrilege aided the king, who was able, in October, 1074, to raise an army and to gain a great victory over them. They were obliged to submit to Henry and to accept his conditions. His power was recognized, although unwillingly on the part of some, in every part of Germany, so that for the first time he was king in fact as well as in name.

Just at this time, when he was glorying in his victory, he was suddenly called to face a new danger and to begin a struggle which lasted the rest of his life. In order to understand his position it is necessary to go back and to trace the history of the papacy since 1046. After causing the unworthy claimants to be deposed, Henry III had nominated one German Pope after another. All had worked for the reform of the Church and had been aided by Henry. They had found the Church offices filled with bishops, abbots, and priests who were guilty of simony¹—that is, they had secured

¹ Simony is coined from the name of Simon Magus, who attempted to buy from the apostles the power of bestowing the gift of the Holy Ghost. See Acts, chap. viii, verses 9-24.

their positions by purchase either directly or indirectly. The Church was so wealthy and had such great power that its offices were sought by ambitious and greedy men. Even worthy and honorable men bought positions, hoping to be



GERMAN TAPESTRY, TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY.

able through their offices to work reform. The kings and nobles often had great influence in the appointment to Church positions, and gave these to their favorites or sold them to the highest bidder. Simony was the greatest evil in the Church.

During his lifetime Henry III and the popes worked together to reform and strengthen the Church; after his death the popes and their advisers continued the same course. Hildebrand was the most zealous and able of the reform party. Of humble birth, he had been educated in a monastery and had entered the service of the Church; by his ability he had risen rapidly until he was made a cardinal and placed in charge of the papal treasury. He had great influence in all matters of papal policy, and finally in 1073 was made Pope, taking the name of Gregory VII. He made every effort to root out simony from the Church. In order to do

Hildebrand,
Gregory VII.

Decree against
lay investiture.

this he felt it essential to take away from laymen all power in the appointment of church officials. Consequently he issued a decree forbidding lay investiture—i. e., taking away from all laymen the power to invest a priest with his clerical office or to bestow any position in the Church. This was a direct blow at the power of Henry IV, who had been making these appointments just as his predecessor had done. Furthermore, the leading bishops of Germany were also the principal officers of the state and held some of the most extensive and most important fiefs in the kingdom. If the king could exercise no control over their selection a large part of his power would be taken away. The real difficulty was due to the twofold position of the bishops who were servants of both the Church and the state.

Henry, flushed with pride by his victory over the Saxons and the great power which he had won, was intensely angry when he received the news of the Pope's action.

Henry's answer.

He wrote to Gregory, refusing to recognize him as Pope and ordering him to relinquish the office which he had seized wrongfully. At the same time he caused all the bishops, whom he had summoned to a council, to write a similar letter.

Gregory replied by excommunicating Henry. This ex-

communication caused the rebellions in Germany to begin again, as many of the king's subjects considered that they were released by the Pope from their oath of allegiance. Henry was soon deserted by almost all the leading nobles and bishops, for many of the latter had signed the letter to Gregory only under compulsion. The king attempted in vain to regain his power; the most that he could secure was a period of delay from the nobles who had proposed to depose him. Finally it was agreed that he should live as a private citizen until he was released from the ban of excommunication; if he was not absolved within a year he was to be deposed and a new king elected.

Gregory and the nobles entered into an agreement to take no action except in common. The Pope promised to come to Germany and there decide upon the course to be pursued with relation to Henry. The latter was determined to save his crown at any cost and feared to have the nobles and the Pope meet. Accordingly he determined to set off in the dead of winter to cross the Alps and seek absolution from Gregory. He escaped by stealth from the careless guardianship of the nobles and hastened to Canossa, where Gregory had stopped on his way to Germany. There the king was compelled to remain outside the castle gate for three days before he could get an audience with the Pope. Each day, wearing a "penitent's shirt," he stood for several hours, proclaiming his repentance and begging for absolution. No king of Germany had ever suffered such a humiliation. At length the Pope freed him from the ban of excommunication.

The investiture
struggle.

Now that he was released from the Church's censure, Henry soon secured support both in Italy and Germany. The "investiture struggle" dragged on for half a century, as neither Pope nor king would abandon what he believed to be his rights. Gregory VII, who died in exile, is reported to have said,

“I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile.” The sons of Henry revolted against him; the king died, deserted by all, and his body lay for five years without Christian burial. Henry V, one of the

sons who had revolted against him, after obtaining the kingdom, took the same position in regard to the question of investiture that

his father had done. Germany was almost ruined by the fighting between the contending parties, for in every portion of the land the people were divided into two hostile camps. Anti-kings and anti-popes were elected. Nobles were arrayed against the peasants and the inhabitants of the cities. The parish priests, as a rule, sided with the king; the bishops with the Pope. Members of the same family were armed against one another.

Finally, in 1122, Henry V and Pope Calixtus II agreed upon a compromise, known as the Concordat of Worms.

The bishops everywhere were to be elected by the clergy and not to be appointed by the king; but in Germany the elections were to take

place in the king's presence, and in case of disputed elections he was given practically the power of decision. After the election the bishops were to be invested by Henry with their feudal rights. The election of bishops in Burgundy and Italy was to be wholly free from any interference on the part of the king. The real importance of this compromise lay in the fact that the Pope and the king endeavored to distinguish between the various duties of bishops. The Church was to elect its own officials; the king was not to invest them with their spiritual offices, but only with their lay fiefs. The Pope had gained a part of what he desired; Henry had lost some of the powers exercised by former kings. This ended the investiture struggle.

Henry V,
1106-1125.

Concordat of
Worms.

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KINGS OF GERMANY, 887-1125

Arnulf, 887-899.	Otto III, 983-1002.
Lewis, the Child, 899-911.	Henry II, the Saint, 1002-1024.
Conrad I, 911-918.	Conrad II, the Salic, 1024-1039.
Henry I, the Fowler, 918-936.	Henry III, the Black, 1039-1056.
Otto I, the Great, 936-973.	Henry IV, 1056-1106.
Otto II, 973-983.	Henry V, 1106-1125.

POPES, 795-1124

S. Leo III, 795-816.	Benedict IV, 900-903.
Stephen IV, 816-817.	Leo V, 903.
S. Paschal I, 817-824.	Christopher, 903-904.
Eugenius II, 824-827.	Sergius III, 904-911.
Valentinus, 827.	Anastasius III, 911-913.
Gregory IV, 827-844.	Landò, 913-914.
Sergius II, 844-847.	John X, 914-928.
S. Leo IV, 847-855.	Leo VI, 928-929.
Benedict III, 855-858.	Stephen VII, 929-931.
S. Nicholas I, 858-867.	John XI, 931-936.
Hadrian II, 867-872.	Leo VIII, 936-939.
John VIII, 872-882.	Stephen VIII, 939-942.
Marinus I, 882-884.	Marinus II, 942-946.
Hadrian III, 884-885.	Agapitus II, 946-955.
Stephen VI, 885-891.	John XII, 955-964.
Formosus, 891-896.	Leo VIII, 963-965.
Boniface VI, 896.	Benedict V, 964.
Stephen VI, 896-897.	John XIII, 965-972.
Romanus, 897.	Benedict VI, 972-974.
Theodore II, 897.	Benedict VII, 974-983.
John IX, 898-900.	John XIV, 983-984.

Boniface VII (974), 984-985.
John XV, 985-996.
Gregory V, 996-999.
Silvester II, 999-1003.
John XVII, 1003.
John XVIII, 1003-1009.
Sergius IV, 1009-1012.
Benedict VIII, 1012-1024.
John XIX, 1024-1033.
Benedict IX, 1033-1048.
Gregory VI, 1045-1046.
Clement II, 1046-1047.
Damasus, 1048.

S. Leo IX, 1048-1054.
Victor II, 1054-1057.
Stephen X, 1057-1058.
Benedict X, 1058-1060.
Nicholas II, 1059-1061.
Alexander II, 1061-1073.
S. Gregory VII, 1073-1085.
Victor III, 1086-1087.
Urban II, 1088-1099.
Paschal II, 1099-1118.
Gelasius II, 1118-1119.
Calixtus II, 1119-1124.

CHAPTER VII

The Kingdom of France (to 1108)

SUMMARY.—The early kings of France were weak, and were unable to repel the invaders. The last Carolingians had no effective authority, and the kingship was rendered still more impotent by the long contest between the Carolingians and Capetians. The Northmen had to be bribed by the duchy of Normandy, and the Flemish cities became almost independent. The early Capetians were enabled by a number of favorable circumstances to retain their power, but made little actual advance before 1108.

THE kingdom guaranteed to Charles the Bald, son of Lewis the Pious, by the treaty of Verdun corresponded roughly to modern France, although it was narrower from east to west and somewhat longer from north to south. But only a small part of the country was actually under Charles's power. Brittany refused to recognize him, and when he attempted to conquer it he met with repeated defeats. Finally he was forced to recognize its independence, and his son, in 856, married the daughter of the king of Brittany. In the south, Septimania and Aquitaine were nearly as independent; even in the north he had constant trouble in maintaining his power. Moreover, the country suffered greatly from invasions, for the Northmen ravaged his territory, burning the towns and monasteries, and laying waste the fields.

Charles and the nobles.

In spite of the difficulties in his kingdom, Charles cherished ambitious plans of conquering Lorraine and Italy, and sought to obtain the imperial crown; consequently he was forced to make continual con-

cessions to his nobles, whose aid he needed. He granted as fiefs almost all the lands in the royal domain,¹ and in favor of the nobles he issued the capitulary of Mersen.²

The bishops and abbots, too, were striving constantly to increase their power and to free themselves from their feudal duties, so that Charles was compelled to make large grants to the Church in order to retain their support.

The result of these repeated grants was to transfer all the actual power to the nobles and clergy. Even the counts, who were theoretically the king's representatives, had succeeded in making their offices hereditary, and exercised their power wholly for their own advantage. The king was obliged to buy or beg the services of his vassals, who were practically independent of him. In spite of the imperial title, which he held in his last years, Charles had little real authority. As king, he had merely a vague overlordship in his kingdom; as emperor, he had neither army nor income to maintain his pretensions. He could not even protect his subjects from the turbulent nobles or the Northmen.

His successors were equally weak. His son, Louis the Stammerer, had great difficulty in obtaining the title of king, and reigned for only two years. Two grandsons of Charles the Bald reigned together for a few years, but the last one died in 884, leaving no heir but a younger brother, five years of age, who was known later as Charles the Simple. Charles the Fat, the son of Lewis the German, was then the only other legitimate descendant, in the male line, of Charles the Great. He was already emperor and king of Germany and Italy; now he received the vacant throne of the West Frankish kingdom, which will be referred to hereafter as France. But he was so weak that he aroused the contempt

Weakness of
Charles.

The successors
of Charles.

¹ The royal domain was the land under the immediate control of the king, from which he obtained most of his income. ² See p. 38.

of all his subjects; finally, when he bought off the Northmen, who were besieging Paris, by giving them permission to plunder elsewhere in his kingdom, the nobles rebelled and deposed him in 887.

After the deposition of Charles the Fat, as there was still no Carolingian of full age, "the people, by common consent, chose as their king, Duke Eudes, an energetic man, who, by his beauty, by his stature, by his great strength, and by his wisdom, surpassed all the others. He ruled ably, and was indefatigable in fighting against the Northmen, who were making constant raids." This is the description given of Eudes by a contemporary abbot, and the last sentence points out the most important service which he performed. His father, Robert the Strong, was a man of obscure origin,¹ who had secured power by defending his neighbors from the Northmen; Eudes had been the hero of the defense of Paris in 886, before Charles the Fat bought off the invaders.

The history of the kings in France during the succeeding century is composed mainly of the struggles between the Carolingian and Robertian houses. When Eudes died, Charles the Simple, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, was recognized as king. He had little power, and the kingdom was wrested from him in 923 by a member of the Robertian house. In 936 his son, Louis d'Outremer,² was summoned by the nobles to be their king; but he and his successors were very weak. His great rival was Hugh, "Duke of France," a descendant of Robert the Strong. Hugh had joined in the summons to Louis, but soon became hostile, and stripped him of a great part of his possessions. In 948 Louis was reduced to such straits that he

¹ Possibly a Saxon. In later times it was believed that he was the son of a Parisian butcher.

² Louis "from beyond the sea" was so named because after his father's deposition he had been taken by his mother to the court of her brother, king of the Anglo-Saxons.

had to appeal for aid at a church council to King Otto I of Germany. "Hugh recalled me from the foreign land where I was living in exile, and, with the consent of all, he made me king, but he left in my power only the city of Laon. . . . Finally he aroused pirates to seize me by treason. . . . He cast me into a dungeon and kept me there for a year. . . . Laon was my only fortress, the only asylum which I had for my wife and children; but what could I do? I preferred my life to a castle; I sacrificed the castle for my liberty. Now, to-day, despoiled of everything, I implore the aid of all. If the duke should dare to contradict me, I am ready to fight him in single combat."¹ With the aid of Otto he secured Laon again, but his son and grandson were as weak as he had been.

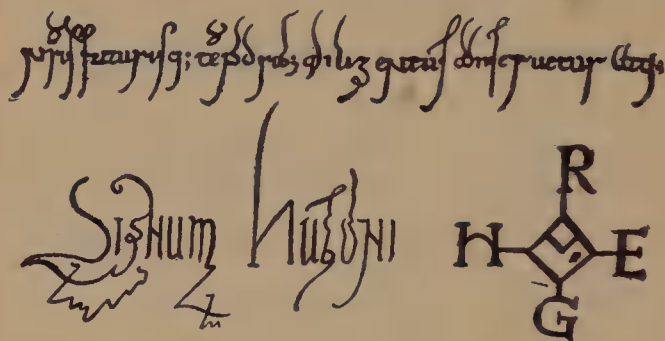
On the death of the grandson of Louis, in 987, Hugh Capet,² duke of France, was chosen king. From the feeble Carolingian line the kingship was transferred to the holder of the most important fief in the kingdom, and the descendants of Hugh Capet continued on the throne for eight hundred years. But before following the fortunes of the Capetians certain events of the tenth century must be described.

The most important was the creation of the duchy of Normandy. In 911 Charles the Simple granted the nucleus of the later duchy to Rollo, leader of the Northmen; at the same time he gave Rollo permission to plunder Brittany. He did thus in order to protect the rest of the kingdom from the ravages of the Northmen, and in this he was successful. Rollo was bap-

¹ From the history of Richer, a monk who lived in the last half of the tenth century.

² So called from the cape or cope which he wore as lay-abbot of a monastery. Robertian and Capetian are both used to designate the descendants of Eudes. Robertian from Robert the Strong, Capetian from Hugh Capet.

tized, and many of his followers also became Christians. In order to reward his followers he divided with them the land which he had received, reserving for himself the lion's share. Normandy, as his land was called, flourished and increased in territory under his rule; Northmen and inhabi-



PART OF A CHARTER OF HUGH CAPET.

tants of the neighboring districts repopled the land which had been deserted. "He forced his subjects to live together in peace; he rebuilt the churches, renewed and strengthened the walls of the cities and the fortifications,"¹ so that under his successors the duchy prospered greatly. The Northmen in Normandy kept up a close connection with the north and frequently received aid thence. This increased their power, but gave them an evil name in the rest of France, where the dukes were often styled "chiefs of the pirates." They supported the Robertian or Capetian house during all its strife with the Carolingians. Gradually the Normans gave up their pagan customs and became very devout Christians; but for centuries they retained their love of wandering and adventure.

Another important event of this period was the rise of the Flemish cities. The constant attacks of the Northmen, especially of those who had settled on the islands

¹ William of Jumièges, a Norman writer of the first half of the eleventh century.

near the mouth of the Scheldt, forced the inhabitants to seek refuge in the remains of the old Roman fortifications.

These were rebuilt, strengthened, and enlarged, and on their sites the cities of Flanders grew up. The inhabitants, by living together, were forced into a community of interests, and under the leadership of the local nobles became redoubtable foes. In their dangers and quarrels with one another they sought aid from the kings of France and Germany and from the leading counts and dukes, but were to a great extent independent.

The poverty of the Carolingians has been referred to already; the last kings of this house had only Laon and a few small towns under their actual power. The

Capetian house had been very wealthy, but in their long struggle with the Carolingians the dukes had been obliged to buy aid and soldiers by granting one fief after another. The holders of these fiefs became more and more independent, so that when Hugh Capet became king he had under his immediate control only a small portion of the lands which had formed the duchy of France fifty years before. The real heirs of the royal authority were the feudal nobles who were exercising almost all of the royal prerogatives on their fiefs. Hugh Capet was elected June 1, 987, and shortly afterward crowned "king of the Gauls, of the Britons, of the Danes [Normans], of the Aquitanians, of the Goths,¹ of the Spaniards, and of the Gascons." In spite of this elaborate title, his real power was not great. The diminished territories of his family he was compelled to diminish still more in order to secure aid to maintain his position. His son and grandson were even less successful, and could not prevent their vassals from erecting hostile fortresses almost on the royal domain. In order to obtain provisions for the royal court, it had to be moved from one estate to another, and, in ad-

¹ Inhabitants of Gothia.

dition, the king had to exercise his prerogative as a feudal lord to demand lodgings and provisions from his vassals.

In fact, the men of that day looked upon the king mainly as a feudal overlord; as has been said, the kingship had been annexed to the most important fief.

Position of the king.

The king had a right to demand only feudal duties from his subjects; and these the vassals would fulfil or not, according to their inclination and strength. But the Capetians themselves never lost wholly from their view the old kingship with its absolute power. The history of the Capetian house in the first three centuries is a long struggle on the part of the kings to use their feudal rights so as to transform their position into an absolute monarchy. Naturally, all of them did not have this clearly in mind, and progress was very slow; but viewing their history as a whole, it is possible to see the progress which they made.

They had several things in their favor. First of all, they had usually the support of the Church, which believed in centralized government, longed for peace, and realized the need of repressing feudal anarchy. When the kings incurred the hostility and opposition of the Church it was because of their transgression of the laws of the Church, especially with regard to marriage.

Favoring circumstance: support from the Church.

Secondly, there were several long reigns; for a period of over three hundred years each king had a son to succeed him; and in all but two instances the son was a full-grown man at the time of his father's death, so that the evils of a minority were avoided. In order to render the succession certain all the early Capetians had their sons crowned during their own lifetime. Thus Hugh associated his son Robert with him in the kingship the very year that he himself received the crown. In this way the kingship gradually came to be regarded as hereditary and not elective, as in the earlier days.

Long reigns.

The kings avoided placing authority in the hands of the nobles, and chose as their agents men of humble birth, who owed everything to them. These were selected generally from the members of the clergy, who alone were educated and, because of their celibacy, could found no families which might become dangerously powerful.

Lastly, the prestige of the old idea of kingship aided them. They associated as equals with the kings of Germany, and outside of their immediate domains had greater respect, although no more real power, than among their immediate vassals.

The first four Capetians accomplished little. Hugh succeeded in holding his kingdom against the Carolingian claimant. Robert II conquered Burgundy; but this valuable addition to the royal territory was soon lost, for the next king, Henry I, granted it to his brother in order to secure his own position as king. Under Henry I the power of the king declined rapidly, yet in spite of his weakness Henry attempted to claim Lorraine from Henry III of Germany. The French kings never ceased to desire this territory and to assert their claims to it. Hitherto the old friendship and alliance between the Capetians and the dukes of Normandy had been continuous; but now Henry was alarmed at the position which the Norman duke had attained, and attempted to conquer him. But Duke William, later the conqueror of England (1066), was an abler general than Henry, and inflicted two disastrous

Officials of
humble birth.

Prestige of the
kingship.

What the early
Capetians
accomplished.



SEAL OF HENRY I.

defeats upon the latter. Philip I¹ succeeded in adding some fiefs to the royal domain. He endeavored also to weaken the duke of Normandy, who had become king of England also, by stirring up strife in his family and supporting rebellions against his power. This policy, which he initiated, became the traditional policy of the Capetians in their relations with the dukes of Normandy.

No one of these kings was feeble in character; their weakness was due mainly to the circumstances in which they were placed. They had no resources except such as they could draw from their comparatively small estates, or could obtain from the good-will of the barons. From their farms they got grain; from their vineyards, wine; from their forests, game, which they themselves killed; from their immediate vassals and from the churches and monasteries on their domain, they exacted "aids" in money; these were practically their only sources of income. But they retained their kingship and laid the foundation for the development in the twelfth century. In addition, during the last quarter of Philip's long reign, the crusade² took out of France many of the turbulent nobles and dangerous characters, thus making it easier for the king to rule.

Why they were weak.

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¹ This name was introduced into the Capetian house through the marriage of Henry I with a Russian princess whose family claimed descent from Philip of Macedon.

² See Chap. XI.

KINGS OF FRANCE, 843-1108

Charles the Bald, 843-881.

Charles the Fat, 881-887.

Eudes, 888-898.

Charles the Simple, 898-923.

Robert I, 923.

Rudolf of Burgundy, 923-936.

Louis IV, *d'Outremer*, 936-954.

Lothair, 954-986.

Louis V, *le Fainéant*, 986-987.

Hugh Capet, 987-996.

Robert II, the Pious, 996-1031.

Henry I, 1031-1060.

Philip I, 1060-1108.

CHAPTER VIII

England (to 1135)

SUMMARY.—The history of England differs from the history of other countries conquered by Germans. Almost all traces of Roman civilization disappeared. For four centuries a varying number of petty kingdoms contended for the supremacy. The Danish invasions caused them to become united for a time in self-defense. But the real unity was brought about by the Norman conquest, which brought England into close connection with the Continent and had other important consequences.

THE history of England during the early centuries of the middle ages is very different from that of the other countries into which the Germans migrated. Elsewhere, as indicated in the introductory chapter, the Germans adopted many of the customs of the conquered peoples. In all of the other countries the invaders were far less numerous than the natives among whom they settled; consequently many Roman institutions survived and the Latin language became the basis of the modern speech. In England, on the contrary, the Anglo-Saxons introduced their own institutions and their own language; only a few English words can be traced to the Celtic, the language of the original inhabitants. It does not seem probable that the invaders exterminated all of the conquered peoples, but they subjugated them so completely that the latter had but little influence upon the conquerors.

From the fifth to the eighth centuries the Anglo-Saxons in Britain formed petty kingdoms of small extent. These

were constantly at strife with one another, and the history of the period, so far as it is known, is almost entirely a

record of the wars waged by the rival kings.

Anglo-Saxon
kingdoms.

In the seventh century there were seven or eight separate kingdoms. The only bond of union was to be found in the Christian Church, which held national councils attended by the leading men from all the different kingdoms.

The king of Northumbria seems to have exercised a certain amount of power over the other kings in the latter part of the seventh century. In the eighth, the king-

Supremacy of
Wessex.

dom of Mercia, especially under Offa (755-794), was supreme. At the beginning of the ninth

the leadership passed to Wessex, whose king, Egbert (802-837), favored by the alliance of Charles the Great, conquered the greater part of England and part of Wales. During his lifetime he succeeded in driving off the Danes when they made attacks upon the coast, but after his death the supremacy of Wessex was imperiled by their invasions.

In 850, for the first time, the Danes remained over winter in England on

Danes attack
England. the Isle of Thanet.

In 867 all of the vikings who had been plundering the western coast of Europe joined together for an attack upon the English, who made a brave resistance. "This year [871] nine general bat-

tles were fought against the army¹ in the kingdom south of the Thames, besides which, Alfred, the king's brother, and



FIBULA FOUND IN ABINGDON.

¹ The Danes. This is the term used for them after 867 by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, from which this and the following quotations are taken,

single ealdormen, and king's thanes,¹ oftentimes made incursions on them, which were not counted; and within the year nine earls and one king were slain."

The king who was slain was Ethelred, whom his brother Alfred succeeded. For a time the Danes were successful

everywhere, subduing Mercia and Northumbria, and compelling Alfred to retreat "to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors."

From his fortress which he built at Athelney he made repeated attacks upon the Danes. "Finally, being joined by the men of three shires, he fought against all the army and put it to flight." After a siege of two weeks the Danes were compelled to surrender their fortress, to take oath to leave Alfred's kingdom, and to promise to be baptized. This was the celebrated peace of Wedmore,² by which the land was divided between Alfred and the Danes. Alfred retained only Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and half of Mercia; the rest of England was surrendered to the Danes and became known as *Danelaw*, or land under the law of the Danes. In 893 he had to confront a fresh invasion of the Danes, but after about three years of continuous fighting he was again victorious.

In order to be ready to repel a Danish invasion at any time, Alfred ordered that in each district one-half of the

men should always be ready to march at a moment's notice, while the other half should cultivate the soil. He built a navy to attack the

Danes upon the water, and was the first English king to defeat them on their own element. Besides providing for the defense of his land, he strove earnestly to improve its government. He gathered together and published a code of laws which consisted for the most part of such old laws and customs as seemed to him suitable, with a very few additions of his own.

¹ Nobles who held land directly from the king. After the Norman conquest, baron was used instead of thane.

² Also known as the treaty of Chippenham.



Before all else Alfred was a teacher and was anxious to educate his subjects. He had been a lover of books from his youth up and realized the importance of learning. But the Danes had destroyed many of the books in the monasteries and most of the schools had been closed for years, so that there were only a very few men in the kingdom who could read or write. Alfred gathered together at his court learned men from his own kingdom and other lands and established schools for his subjects. Moreover, for the education of his people he translated into the Anglo-Saxon language the three Latin works which he considered most valuable.¹ He set scholars at work to translate other books, especially the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, which recounted the history of Christian Britain. He also caused the early portions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to be composed in the mother tongue, so that his subjects might know the history of their own race from the time when it first invaded England.

The character of Alfred the Great made a deep impression upon his people. A thousand years after his death delegates from all the English-speaking countries gathered together at Winchester, his old capital, to do honor to his memory. About his name have clustered many fables which show how the people of later days were inclined to attribute all that was best and noblest to him. Possibly the finest tribute to his character is the name justly bestowed upon him of "Alfred the Truth-teller."

Effect of the
Danish inva-
sions.

Under his successors, Edward the Unconquered, Athelstan the Glorious, Edmund the Doer-of-great-deeds, and Edred, the whole of England passed under the rule of the king of Wessex. The Danish invasions had really aided in making a united Eng-

¹ The *Consolations of Philosophy*, by Boethius; the *Universal History* of Orosius, and the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great.

land. Before their attacks began the inhabitants of the petty kingdoms into which the country was divided had been separated from one another by feelings of antagonism and jealousy. After the Danes had made themselves master of the rest of England, the king of Wessex became the champion of Englishmen and Christians against the invaders and pagans. Consequently, after each conquest of territory, he was accepted willingly as king by the English inhabitants. He was the national leader, "King of the English."

Athelstan's power was so great that alliance with him was sought by the chief rulers on the continent. His three sisters married Charles the Simple of France, Otto I of Germany, and Hugh the Great. His greatest achievement was his victory at Brunanburh, in 937, over the king of the Scots and the Danish kings of the north. A war-song was composed in honor of this victory and is preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Parts of it are as follows: ¹

Power of
Athelstan.

The West Saxons forth,
the live-long day,
in martial bands,
follow'd the footsteps
of the hostile nations.
They hewed the fugitives
from behind amain
with falchions mill-sharp.
The Mercians refused not,
the hard hand-play
to any of the warriors,
who with Olaf,
o'er the waves mingling,
in the ship's bosom,
the land had sought
death-doomed in fight.

No slaughter has been greater
in this island
ever yet
of folk laid low,
before this,
by the swords' edges,
from what books tell us,
old chroniclers,
since hither from the east
Angles and Saxons
came to the land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought,
proud war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
men for glory eager,
the country gained.

¹ It is fortunate that this ballad of our forefathers has been preserved. Its form illustrates the character of the early English poetry.

The period from 955 to 1016, although broken by the peaceful rule of Edgar (959-975), was marked by internal wars which made the nation weak. This was shown clearly when the Danes made new invasions in 988 and the following years. The people in different localities made a valiant defense, but "shire would not help shire," and Ethelred used gold, not steel, to repel the invaders. In 991 and the following years the Danegeld was levied to furnish money to buy off the Danes, and the tribute paid to them led to new invasions. In 1002 the English fear and hatred of the Danes became so intense that Ethelred ordered the massacre of St. Brice's day, when many of the Danes in England were murdered. This aroused Swegen, king of Denmark, to take vengeance, and he devastated the kingdom. Ethelred was compelled to flee to Normandy, and Swegen was recognized as king by right of conquest. When he died, in the following year, Ethelred returned, and was able to rule until 1016.

Ethelred's second marriage, in 1002, had important consequences for England. His bride was Emma, daughter of the duke of Normandy, in whose train Normans came to England and received offices. Ethelred, when driven out, took refuge at the duke's court; later Emma again fled thither, taking her sons with her, of whom one was later Edward the Confessor. From the time of Ethelred's marriage Englishmen and Normans became closely associated.

On the death of Swegen, his son, Canute, had not been strong enough to obtain the English kingdom, which had been restored to Ethelred. On the death of the latter, there was a double election; Canute was chosen by one party, and Edmund, son of Ethelred, by the other. The death of Edmund gave the whole kingdom to Canute. His reign was inaugurated by the killing of all the leaders whom he thought dangerous. But after he felt that his rule was firmly established he ruled

Danish invasions renewed.

Connection of England with Normandy.

Government of Canute.

with great justice and ability. He made very few changes in the institutions of England, except by creating the great earls. Under the preceding kings it was customary for each shire to have as its chief an ealdorman; some of these became very powerful, and extended their rule over two or more shires. Canute made four great divisions of his kingdom—Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland—and placed at the head of each an official whose title was no longer ealdorman but earl.

The other parts of the Anglo-Saxon administrative system were retained by Canute; the powers of the government were, for the most part, in the hands of local groups. At the base of the system were the *hundreds*, which were composed of an indefinite number of townships, of which each one was held responsible for its own members. The assembly of the hundred decided local disputes, punished crimes, and recorded agreements. The hundreds were grouped together into shires, which also had their assemblies, presided over by the shire reeve or sheriff. The whole kingdom was

divided into shires, and, except under a very strong king, the maintenance of order depended upon the local authorities. Moreover, the king was controlled to a great extent by the witenagemot, or assembly of the great men of the whole kingdom, which had the right to elect the king. All laws had to receive the sanction of its members, who formed the advisory council of the king, and all important actions were submitted to them for approval. In the witenagemot the bishops and nobles sat together.

On the death of Canute, in 1035, his two sons ruled in succession; but after their death the witenagemot, in 1042,

elects Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred and the Norman Emma. He had been educated in Normandy, and brought with him to England many Normans, who were given important offices and had great influence. Godwin, whom Canute had made earl

of Wessex, had been influential in having Edward elected; and his daughter was married to the king. But when the king brought in his Norman favorites Godwin opposed them and became the leader of the anti-Norman party. He and his family were exiled, but soon returned, supported by the whole English nation, and became all-powerful in the kingdom. On the death of Godwin, his son Harold succeeded him; and on the death of Edward, Harold was elected king by the witenagemot.

Immediately, William, duke of Normandy, asserted a claim to the throne. The claim was based upon a pretended bequest by Edward, with whom William had been in intimate association. In addition, the duke claimed that Harold had broken an oath, as, according to William's statement, Harold had taken an oath not to oppose his election. Neither Edward nor Harold could give the kingdom away; but these claims were put forward to justify William's invasion.

Gathering together a mixed host, he landed in England in 1066, and at Hastings, or Senlac, won a decisive victory, and in the battle Harold was slain. London soon opened its gates to William, and he was crowned on Christmas day. The conquest of the whole land was accomplished after four years of fighting, and William was recognized as the legitimate king. By this conquest all England had come under his power. William held that all who had taken up arms against him to aid the perjured Harold had forfeited their lands to the crown. He gave part of their lands to his Norman followers; part he allowed the English holders to redeem; but in every case the transaction was made with a strict observance of legal forms. In this manner all land came to be held from the king, and following the custom in Normandy, he required every vassal to take an oath of allegiance directly to him, and not to any intermediate lord. In this way William avoided the dangerous condi-

William claims
the kingdom.

Norman
conquest.

tions in France, where a vassal owed allegiance only to his lord and not to the king. In other respects also he introduced the forms of feudalism as they existed in Normandy. Following the strict letter of the law, as he interpreted it, he supplanted gradually the English earls, bishops, and abbots, and introduced Normans in their place.

The results of his policy can be seen in the *Domesday Book*, which contains the records of a general survey made in 1086. The pretext for this survey was the necessity of a census in order that taxation might be more effective. In the case of each entry in *Domesday* there is a statement of the present possessor of the land, of the possessor in the days of King Edward, and of the value of the land at those two dates. In addition, there is a vast mass of details as to the number of freemen and serfs, and of their possessions. It is an unique record of medieval civilization, although many subjects are ignored or taken for granted, so that it is difficult at the present day to understand its full meaning. It shows very clearly that William was carrying out his policy with a strict attention to the law as he interpreted it. The record seems to have been made impartially, for Normans, and even the immediate family of the king, are recorded as withholding property unjustly from Saxons, to whom it actually belonged.

The conquest had most important results for England, and changes worthy of note took place under William and his successors. First of all, the conquest made the central government much stronger. All lands were held from the king, and all freemen were obliged to serve in the king's army. He collected general taxes, and sent judges throughout the land to hold courts and try cases. The sheriff in each shire was obliged to report to the king twice each year, so that the latter's authority was felt in every part of the land and the local rulers lost much of their importance.

Results of the
conquest; power
of the king.

In the second place, the conquest brought England into close association with the Continent, as William and his successors were dukes of Normandy as well as kings of England, consequently the two countries were brought into intimate relations. Some of his followers held estates on both sides of the English Channel, which made it necessary for them and their vassals to make frequent journeys between England and Normandy. Moreover, William had sought the sanction of the Pope for his invasion; and after he had conquered the country, he brought the English Church more fully under the authority of the Pope, so that Roman legates journeyed to England and English bishops sought Rome.

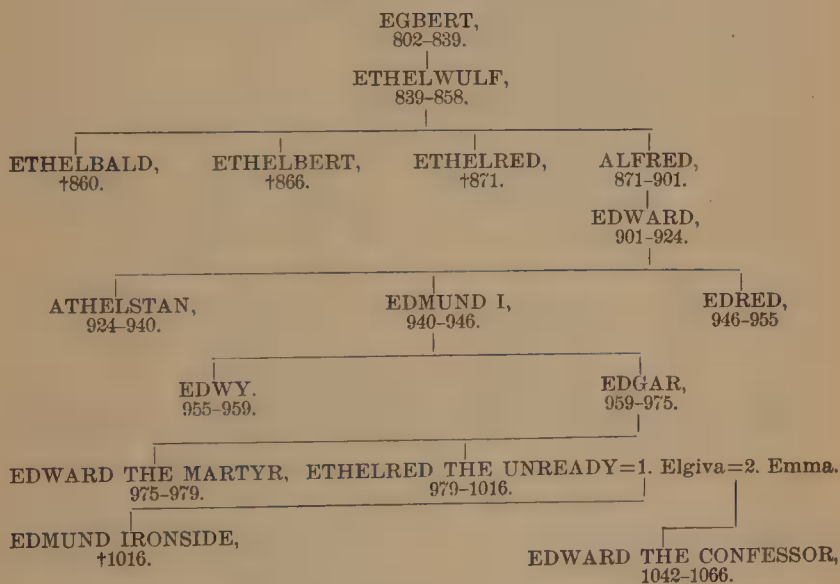
In the third place, the conquest brought in new classes of inhabitants. Norman merchants and artisans, as well as Norman lords, settled in England, introducing new customs and a new language. Stately Norman churches were built; Norman castles guarded the land; the Norman-French language was spoken by the ruling classes, and for a time English was spoken only by the conquered people. Only gradually did the latter regain the supremacy; and then it had lost many of its ancient forms, and was enriched by new words borrowed from the Norman-French. The language, the people, the country as a whole, profited greatly by the changes introduced by the Norman conquest.

William Rufus, who succeeded William the Conqueror, in 1087, was noted chiefly for his vices and his tyrannical rule. But the next king, Henry I, 1100–1135, redressed the evil customs and won the name of “the lion of justice.” He granted a charter of liberties, restored some of the powers to the local authorities, and married an English wife; by these acts he conciliated the support of his English subjects, so that by their aid he was able to conquer Normandy, which had been given to his brother.

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KINGS OF THE FAMILY OF EGBERT



CHAPTER IX

The Moslem World (750-1095)

SUMMARY.—Within a hundred years after the death of Mohammed his followers had conquered a large part of Asia, Africa, and Europe. They also advanced rapidly in civilization. Their skill in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing, and their knowledge of the arts and sciences, were greater than those possessed by the Christians in the west of Europe. Between 750 and 1050 the latter reconquered portions of the territory which had been held by the Mohammedans. In the eleventh century the Seljukian Turks brought new forces to the aid of Islam, and the Christian countries were again exposed to conquest.

DURING the first hundred years after the death of Mohammed (632) his followers conquered the greater part of the civilized world. About the middle of the eighth century their advance was checked, both in the east and in the west. This was due to internal dissensions, caused by the usurpation of the Abbassides, the rebellion of provincial governors, and the revolt of subject races.

Advance of the
Mohammedans
checked.

Mohammed left no male descendants, and the first caliphs, or “successors” of the prophet, were elected. Very soon a contest for the supreme power broke out between the Ommiads, members of one of the leading families of Mecca, and the family of the prophet. In 661 the Ommiads triumphed and made the caliphate hereditary in their family. The descendants of Mohammed’s family refused to consider the Ommiads as legitimate caliphs and plotted to overthrow their power. In 750 the Abbassides, who were descendants of the prophet’s

The Abbasside
dynasty.

uncle, raised an army of the discontented, assassinated the Ommiad caliph, and became supreme.

The first province to revolt was Andalusia (Spain). One of the Ommiads escaped the slaughter, in which almost all of his relatives were involved, and after five years of wandering, landed in Spain. There he gained many adherents, and within about a year became the ruler of all Mohammedan Spain, with the title of emir, or commander.¹

Even before the founding of the emirate of Cordova the conquests of the Moors in western Europe had been checked by the revolt of the Berbers. The latter, the inhabitants of northern Africa, had been conquered and converted to Islam only after seventy years of war. In 740 they rose in rebellion against the caliph. After that time the latter was unable to send reinforcements to Spain or to get recruits from Africa.

In spite of these losses the reign of the Abbasside caliphs opened brilliantly. The Arabs in their conquests had come into contact with highly civilized nations, and had acquired information and absorbed culture from their conquered subjects. At Bagdad, to which the Abbassides moved their capital in 762, they fell under Persian influence. This was fortunate, as Persia had been for four centuries the seat of a highly developed civilization, which derived its main elements from Greece, China, and India. The influence of the first had been especially prominent, as the Persians had studied eagerly the philosophy and science of ancient Greece.

Bagdad under Haroun al-Raschid, the caliph of the *Arabian Nights*, became a center of learning and the seat of great luxury. The palace, with the buildings which housed its officials and servants, formed

¹ In 929 his descendants assumed the title of caliph.

a city in itself. It was thronged with theologians, poets, musicians, officials, and ambassadors from distant nations. Twenty-two thousand rugs carpeted the floor of the palace; thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry hung on the walls. A hundred lions, each with its keeper, added to the magnificence of the spectacle when an ambassador was received. At the nuptials of Mamun "a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride." The tales in the *Arabian Nights* reflect very faithfully the luxury and life of Bagdad under its early rulers.

This civilization was not confined to Bagdad or Persia.

From the Eu-
 Diffusion of the
 civilization, phrates to the
 Atlantic Ocean

extended the Mohammedan dominions, inhabited by people of many races, but all speaking the Arabic language and governed by the same laws. Each country contributed its own knowledge to the sum total; the Arabs unified the whole and carried it throughout their empire, raising the more barbarous countries to a higher civilization.

Arab Spain.

Spain under their rule became the most prosperous and enlightened country of Europe. Christian students from Germany, France, and England studied in Mohammedan Spain, where they came into contact with learned scholars from all parts of the Moslem



ARAB HORN.¹

¹ Said to have been given to Charles the Great by Haroun al-Raschid.

world. Art was cultivated, literature was cherished, science was studied when the rest of Europe, except Constantinople, was in its darkest age. Women in Spain vied with the men in the pursuit of learning; some were skilled in medicine; others gave public lectures on scientific subjects.

Much of the prosperity of Spain was due to the wise policy of the rulers in their treatment of the conquered races. The Christians suffered few hardships; their taxes were light; their churches were unmolested, and their property was secure. The only persecution

Toleration.

was due to the intemperate zeal of some rash fanatics who sought martyrdom, and their conduct was denounced justly and severely by a Christian council. The Christian bishops were appointed by the emir, but ordinarily he appointed the candidates chosen by the Christians. The public offices were open to men of all races and religions, and many of them were held by Slavs, Jews, and Christians, who were promoted to high positions. One of the ambassadors sent to Otto the Great by the caliph of Cordova was a Christian bishop.

An Arab maxim says, "It is one of the chief duties of the government to construct the canals necessary for the cultivation of the soil." The Arab rulers in

Agriculture.

Spain acted upon this maxim, and put into practice the art of irrigation learned in Egypt. Water-wheels were introduced, distributing canals were dug, so that Spain became a vast garden. Rice, sugar-cane, hemp, cotton, asparagus, artichokes, beans, melons, oranges, apricots, palms, yellow roses and other flowers which had been brought from the East, were cultivated there.

Silk-weaving is said to have employed the labor of 130,000 men in the caliphate of Cordova. The island of Majorca

Manufacturing. was famous for its pottery, of which the manufacture was transferred later to Italy, where it

became known as "majolica." The sword-blades of Toledo acquired a fame which has become proverbial. In

addition, the Moors of Spain were renowned for their ornamental metal work and exquisite ivory carvings.

The products of Spain were exchanged for wares from Asia and Africa. The Mohammedans traded, by vessels and caravans, with China, from which they obtained silk, tea, lac, and china; with Calcutta and Sumatra, whence they brought spices, drugs, pearls, and precious stones; with Africa, which supplied them with slaves, ivory, and gold dust; with the country to the north of the Black Sea, which furnished furs and amber. Moreover, they carried on an active trade with Constantinople, and later with the cities of Italy. Religious differences were not permitted to interfere with the trade. Bagdad was the center of this important commerce, but Arab Spain shared in its advantages. The bazaar, or the merchants' quarter, was an important part of each Spanish city.

A people so advanced in the arts of civilization was naturally devoted to study. Schools and universities flourished, and were supported partly by the Government, partly by private liberality. The most important study was theology, with which law and grammar were closely associated. Philosophy, especially the writings of Aristotle, was studied enthusiastically, and it was from the Arab commentaries and translations that the Christians later acquired much of their knowledge of Aristotle's works. Libraries were common, and a caliph in the tenth century collected 400,000 volumes. He sent his agents everywhere to copy books, he employed authors to write new ones, and he is said to have read them



ARAB
DAGGER.¹

¹ Said to have been given to Charles the Great by Haroun al-Raschid,



INTERIOR, MOSQUE OF CORDOVA.

all. This was probably the largest library in the middle ages, and was not surpassed in size until long after the invention of printing. In the west of Europe, at the same period, a library of a thousand volumes was practically unknown.

Mathematics formed a favorite subject of study among the Arabs. In arithmetic they employed the so-called

Arabic figures, including the zero. Among

Mathematics.

the Christians at the same period the Roman figures were used almost universally; later these were called, in contrast with the Arabic, the "sweating calculators." Early in the ninth century an Arab mathematician composed a text-book on algebra, which, after some centuries, was introduced into Europe and was used until the end of the middle ages. Other Arabs in the ninth and tenth centuries developed spherical trigonometry and mathematical physics, which the Christians acquired from them in the thirteenth century.

The Arabs in Spain taught geography by the use of globes. By their study of alchemy, in which they sought

especially the "philosopher's stone," which

**Other branches
of learning.**

would transmute base substances into gold, and the "elixir of life," which would bestow the gift of perpetual youth, they acquired a considerable knowledge of chemistry, producing a number of new compounds, such as alcohol, aqua regia, and corrosive sublimate. In medicine they based their science on the writings of the Greeks, and developed their knowledge until they became the most skilful doctors in the medieval world.

By the Koran, Mohammedans are forbidden to make representations of living objects. This prevented them

from making much progress in sculpture and

Architecture.

painting, although there are some well-known transgressions of the prophet's command, notably the famous court of the lions in the Alhambra. In architecture

they were unhampered, and they devoted themselves especially to this branch of art. At first they copied, with slight changes, Byzantine buildings; gradually they combined with the Byzantine forms other motives which they found in Persia and the East, or which they themselves invented. Their buildings are marked by ogives, arabesques, and pendentives, but above all by the ornamentation, which they carried to an extreme. The ceilings and interior walls are covered with arabesques of geometrical figures, of foliage, or of Arabic inscription.

Frequently the Europeans, in acquiring new information from the Arabs, borrowed the Arabic term. Many words in the modern languages of Europe beginning with *al*—the definite article in Arabic—betray their origin and show the source from which the knowledge was obtained. For example, we have in English algebra,

Words from
Arabic.

alcohol, alembic, alkali, alchemy, almanac, Aldebaran the star, and many other words.

In a similar way damask from Damascus, muslin from Mosul, cordovan from Cordova, and morocco, show in their names the sources from which they were first obtained. Sugar, cotton, and other names were borrowed without the article *al*.

While this civilization was being developed, the power of the caliph of Bagdad

Disintegration
of the Moham-
medan world.

was declining rapidly. His subjects were no longer animated by intense zeal for com-

bat. Luxury and refinement had created new tastes. Religious unity of feeling had disappeared, as new sects had arisen; the different sects were bitterly opposed to one another, and were unwilling to join in a common war of propagation or defense. Political unity had been destroyed by the revolt of the Berbers and by the establishment of



ARAB COIN.
(Obverse and reverse.)

the Ommiad dynasty in Spain. The caliphs at Bagdad, weakened by luxury, were losing control over their officials, so that one province after another revolted. As the caliph's power declined, he lost his prestige, so that in the tenth century two rival caliphates were established—one at Cairo and the other at Cordova; and each ruler claimed to be the true caliph—the successor of the prophet. The process of disintegration went on rapidly. In the eleventh century the East was divided into petty states, each ruled by a conqueror or military commander, recognizing only in the most formal way the authority of any caliph. In Spain the caliphate of Cordova broke up, in 1033, into seven small kingdoms.

As the Mussulmans became weaker the Christians succeeded in reconquering some of the lands which they had formerly held. All of southern Gaul was regained. In Spain the descendants of the Christians who had retreated beyond the mountains in the northwest, took one town after another until, by the middle of the eleventh century, one-third of Spain had come into their power. Sardinia was reconquered about 1050, southern Italy and Sicily about 1060. In the east the Byzantine emperors were recovering gradually much of Asia Minor and Syria. Although the period from 750 to 1050 is marked by no great wars between Christians and Moslems, and although the Moslems rallied occasionally and recaptured some places, the result was a great advance for the Christians, who seemed destined to recover all the lands formerly included in the Roman Empire.

For centuries Mongolian or Turkish tribes from the interior of Asia had been pressing to the westward. As a rule they had gone to the north of the Caspian and Black Seas, and had sought their conquests and booty in Europe. But some had gone to the southwest and had entered into the service of the caliph at Bagdad. In the eleventh century a great Turkish kingdom was

The advance of
the Christians.

The Seljuks.

formed by rulers descended from Seljuk, a legendary hero of whom little is definitely known. The Seljuks conquered Persia, and, having adopted Islam, were welcomed, in 1055, as defenders, by the weak Abbasside caliph at Bagdad. From this time the Turkish sultan became supreme, although the caliph remained, theoretically, the religious ruler. The Seljuks, who were brave soldiers, spread over all Asia Minor and Syria. In 1071 they won a decisive victory at Manzikert, in which the Byzantine army was annihilated. Within a few years all of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine Empire had fallen under the rule of the Turks, and they were threatening Constantinople.

Fortunately for the Byzantine Empire, the sultan was not able to keep control over the Turkish leaders, of whom each conquered such territory as he could and established an almost independent principality.

Disunion among
the Turks.

Internal wars began at once among the Turks, and their strength was exhausted in fighting one another. The natives whom they had conquered were disaffected, but attempted no open revolt against the Turkish garrisons which held all the fortresses. But the dissensions among the various emirs, or commanders, made the Mohammedans weak, and offered an excellent opportunity to the Christians for reconquering Asia Minor and Syria.

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CHAPTER X

The Byzantine Empire

SUMMARY.—In the early middle ages the Byzantine Empire was the strongest and most civilized of Christian countries. Because of its position it served as a bulwark to Europe against invasions from Asia. It also performed other services of the greatest importance for the future history of Europe. It was enabled to do this by its carefully organized administrative system and excellent army. It was constantly attacked for several centuries, and lost much of its territory, but, although frequently in desperate straits, it succeeded each time in maintaining its position. Toward the close of the eleventh century, after having repulsed all invaders, it was ready to attempt the reconquest of the territory which had been overrun by the Turks.

DURING the early centuries of the middle ages Constantinople was the most wealthy and populous city in Europe. Its inhabitants were the most artistic, learned, and highly civilized people in the Christian world. They controlled the commerce of the Mediterranean Sea and monopolized the manufacture of many luxuries. They were governed by an elaborate system of law which made their property secure, and were protected by an efficient army which repelled for centuries every attack upon their city. They lived in the midst of stately buildings, beautiful statues, and costly works of art, which could be equaled nowhere else.

Contrast with the West. Travelers from western Europe were astonished to find such an enormous city, such wealth and refinement. In their own countries there were no large cities, none of the luxuries and few of the conveniences of life. In the West, learning was confined to the clergy; safety in traveling could be secured

only by an armed force; and the homes of the most powerful nobles were rough castles, destitute of comfort, and built mainly for defense. The kings of France and Germany were obliged to travel from one to another of their farms in order to secure the food necessary for their meals. Loathsome skin diseases were common, and there were no skilful doctors; pestilences and famine swept over the population from time to time. In Constantinople the



GREEK EMPEROR.¹

travelers found lighted and paved streets, extensive public parks, hospitals, and homes for orphans. Order was preserved by a well-organized police force; theaters and circuses were maintained for the amusement of the populace. There were flourishing schools in which the scholars pursued not merely the elementary studies taught in the West, but also those pertaining to law, medicine, and science. The nobles lived in magnificent buildings which far surpassed the palaces of the western monarchs. The artisans were comfortably housed, and worked together in great factories, producing the rich stuffs which were so rare and so highly prized in the West. In short, they found a civi-

lization at Constantinople several hundred years in advance of the rude customs of Germany, France, or England.

This civilization did not remain sterile; it performed useful services for all the rest of Europe. First of all it protected the center of Europe against Mohammedan invasions until the young states of the West had grown strong.

¹ Portrait, of the early middle ages, in St. Mark's, Venice.



ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

Secondly, it maintained European commerce, until, in the later middle ages, the cities of Italy and northern Europe had become wealthy and strong enough to take up the task. Thirdly, it preserved the learning and civilization of the ancient Greeks and Romans and transmitted this priceless heritage to the rest of the Christian world—especially during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It spread the knowledge of arts and sciences among all the people who came into close contact with Constantinople; thus Venice owed its wealth, luxury, and refinement to its dependence upon the Byzantine Empire. Fourthly, it converted to Christianity and civilized the inhabitants of all eastern Europe. The debt which modern Europe owes to the mediæval Byzantine Empire is *enormous*.

It was able to perform these services because of its great strength and resources, and especially because of the unique position which its capital held among the great cities of the world. The situation of Constantinople was even more advantageous in the early middle ages than it is at the present day. Then the Balkan peninsula was covered with flourishing and wealthy cities, and Asia Minor was one of the most fertile and populous districts in the world. From the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor Constantinople was able to secure a plentiful supply of foodstuffs and great revenues in money. Even at the present day, after the surrounding lands have been laid waste by Turkish conquest and misrule, Constantinople has a more advantageous site than any other capital. It “is a city which Nature herself has designed to be the mistress of the world. It stands in Europe, looks upon Asia, and is within reach by sea of Egypt and the Levant on the south, and of the Black Sea and its European and Asiatic shores on the north.”¹ It has a

¹ Description of Busbecq, a Flemish traveler of the sixteenth century.

deep, spacious, and land-locked harbor, 4 miles long, which can be easily defended against a hostile fleet. At the back of the city the peninsula is only 4 miles in width, and during the middle ages the approach by land was guarded by two walls. The position of Constantinople was an important element in preserving the Byzantine Empire.

But natural advantages alone would not have made the empire strong; a strong government was needed. Many of the emperors were weak and incapable, but the administrative system was well organized.

Just as the government of Old Rome remained effective even under weak or vicious emperors, such as Caligula, Nero, or Domitian, so the officials in New Rome—Constantinople—preserved order and peace even when emperors were assassinated and usurpers assumed the imperial office.¹

In the ninth and tenth centuries, however, the empire had the good fortune to be ruled by able emperors of the Armenian or Macedonian dynasties. Under the latter family the succession to the throne was recognized as hereditary; for one hundred and ninety years (867–1057) the members of this house succeeded to the throne, and their rule was so firmly established that their power was not shaken during minorities or when women reigned.

In the eighth century the old divisions of the early Roman Empire had been abandoned and a new division had been made into *themes*, or districts of varying extent. At the head of each theme

Administrative system.

Right of hereditary established.

Military organization of provinces.

¹ "It has been calculated that, from the reign of Arcadius (395–408) to the capture of Constantinople in 1453, out of 107 persons—who were emperors or associate emperors—12 abdicated either voluntarily or under compulsion; 12 died in monasteries or in prison; 3 were starved to death; 18 were blinded or otherwise mutilated; 20 were assassinated in some way or other; 8 died in war or accidentally; only 34 died in their beds" (Bayet).



was an official who controlled both the civil and military administration and was responsible directly to the emperor. Independence in local administration was taken away from the towns, and these were governed directly by the ruler of the theme. The organization was essentially military, and the subdivisions were ruled by officers of the army responsible to the governor of the theme. This made the central government stronger and maintained order more easily, but it weakened the empire, as the people had no interest in, nor feeling of responsibility for the government. Consequently, when invaders conquered any part of the empire, the inhabitants submitted without resistance to the new rule.

The military force on which the empire depended was well organized and had the best weapons known in the middle ages. The chief strength of the army
Strength of
the army. consisted of cavalry armed with bows and lances, and protected by armor which was proof against ordinary missile weapons. Moreover, the art of war was more fully developed than anywhere else in the medieval world. The emperors took a great interest in military science; three of them composed important treatises for the use of their generals. The fortifications were improved and strengthened. But, above all, the Greek fire gave a superiority to the Byzantine armies and fleets; this was made and used in various ways;¹ in particular, from hollow tubes fire-balls were hurled on the enemy.²

¹ According to one description it was composed of sulfur, dregs of wine, Persian gum, salt, pitch, petroleum, and oil boiled together. It could be extinguished only by vinegar or sand. But there were many different ways of making it; one form of Greek fire seems to have been very similar to gunpowder. The Greeks preserved the secret of its composition until about the year 1000; after that it was used freely by the Saracens in their battles with the crusaders.

² Compare the Roman candles of to-day. This was the nearest approach to the modern gun.

These effective weapons were necessary to the preservation of the empire, which was compelled for centuries to be on the defensive. In the seventh century the Slavs had been the most dangerous enemies, and had made settlements in many parts of the Balkan peninsula. The emperors, after long and almost fruitless attempts to expel them, were obliged to leave them in possession of the districts which they had occupied. In many parts of Peloponnesus they had displaced the ancient Greek inhabitants; but as they settled usually in the country districts, the towns, especially Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, remained Greek. Some Slavs were given lands in Asia Minor; for example, 30,000 were sent thither in 688. In the later centuries a large part of the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire were the descendants of these Slavic invaders and colonists.

In the seventh century the Arabs began to attack portions of the empire, as has been related in a preceding chapter. Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa were conquered; early in the eighth century Asia Minor was occupied and Constantinople was threatened.¹ In the ninth and the early part of the tenth century the Arabs took possession of Sicily and some cities in the East. But during the tenth century, under the able emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, almost all of Asia Minor and Syria was reconquered, and those countries again became a source of strength to the empire.

In the seventh century the Bulgarians also began to invade the empire. In 811 their khan defeated and killed the emperor, Nicephorus I, whose skull was made into a drinking-cup to grace Bulgarian feasts. Later in the century they became more civilized from their contact with the Slavs, adopted the language of the latter, and were converted to Christianity. In 893

Invasion of the
Bulgarians.

Invasion of
Slavs.

¹ See page 6.

their czar, Simeon, proclaimed himself king and by negotiation received recognition from the Pope. In 889 war had broken out again between the Bulgarians and the empire; after thirty-five years, during which the former were successful everywhere, peace was made, with an agreement that tribute should be paid by the emperor to the Bulgarians. After forty years of peace, when the emperor refused to pay the tribute, war was renewed. It dragged on without decisive results until the emperor, Basil II, took command in person in 999 and won several victories; in 1014 he captured 15,000 Bulgarians and blinded all except one in each hundred; the hundredth man, in each case, was deprived of only one eye and was compelled to guide the others back to their homes. This bloody vengeance discouraged the Bulgarians, who submitted four years later, in 1018. Basil II won the epithet of *Bulgaroktonos*, or slayer of Bulgarians.

In the first half of the tenth century the Hungarians or Magyars, who were the terror of Germany, attacked the Byzantine Empire also. For a time the emperor paid them tribute, but after the victory of Otto the Great on the Lechfeld,¹ the emperor thought them less dangerous, and refused the tribute. The Hungarians attempted to enforce the payment, but were beaten off.

Northmen under Rurik (862-879) had established themselves at Novgorod and founded the Russian kingdom.

From this date until 1043 the Russians attacked the empire at various times and levied tribute from it. At the end of the tenth century the Russian king married a sister of the emperor, Basil II, and became a convert to Christianity. After this the Russians made occasional raids, but without any great effect upon the empire.

¹ See page 54.



ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

This survey of the dangers which threatened the Byzantine Empire illustrates the most notable fact in its history—its “constant vitality and power of revival.”

Need of strong rule. Frequently it was obliged to submit and to pay tribute to invaders; then again it would recover its strength and conquer its enemies. Amid such dangers despotism seemed almost a necessity. The empire had no natural boundaries, was inhabited by different races which had little in common, and was surrounded by hostile states. The only safeguard was a strong central administration.

The Macedonian dynasty, after ruling for one hundred and ninety years, died out in 1057. A period of anarchy ensued, in which there was no legitimate heir, and five usurpers held the throne in succession within a period of twenty-four years. A Turkish race, which was said to number over half a million, crossed the Danube and ravaged the European portion of the empire, but made no settlement. In Asia, the Seljukian Turks invaded Armenia and Asia Minor. The emperor, after some unimportant victories, was defeated by them in the battle of Manzikert, in 1071, and was taken prisoner. He was released on his promise to pay a ransom, but on his return he found that the imperial title had been usurped by a rival, who imprisoned and blinded him.

In 1081 Alexius Comnenus seized the imperial throne. He was a very able ruler, and, in spite of all the difficulties which confronted him, he was successful in establishing his power firmly and in making the empire strong again. Almost as soon as he became emperor he was compelled to engage in war with the Normans, who, earlier in the century, had established themselves in southern Italy, and were now desirous of extending their dominions at the expense of the Greek empire. After four years of war they were obliged to desist, and Alexius was free to turn his attention to other dangers.

**Alexius
Comnenus,
1081-1118.**

It was time, for the Patzinaks—a Turkish race, settled along the Danube, which had threatened the empire from time to time for several centuries—were ravaging Thrace. It took nine years to defeat and expel them from the empire. Alexius, unwearied, was now ready for new wars.

The Byzantine Empire, in 1095, after so many wars, was greatly reduced in territory, but was still wealthy and strong. Its civilization had suffered no decline, its capital was unharmed by all the invasions which had swept over other portions of its territory.

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EMPERORS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, 717–1204

Syrian (Isaurian) Dynasty, 717–802

Leo III, the Isaurian, 717–740.	Irene, 797–802.
Constantine V or VI, <i>Copronymus</i> , 740–775.	Nicephorus I, 802–811.
	Stauracius, 811.
Leo IV, the Chazar, 775–779.	Michael I, <i>Rhangabe</i> , 811–813.
Constantine VI or VII, 779–797.	

Amorian Dynasty, 820–867

Leo V, The Armenian, 813–820.	Theophilus, 829–842.
Michael II, the Stammerer, 820–829.	Michael III, the Drunkard, 842–867.

Basilian or Armenian (Macedonian) Dynasty, 867–1057

Basil I, the Macedonian, 867–886.	Alexander, 912–913.
Constantine VI (with Basil I), 868–878.	Romanus I, <i>Lecapenus</i> , 919–945. ¹
	(As associates his three sons,
Leo VI, the Wise, 886–912.	Christopher, Stephen, and Con-
Constantine the VII or VIII, <i>Porphyrogenitus</i> , 912–958.	stantine.)
	Romanus II, 958–963.

¹ Usurper.

Basil II, <i>Bulgaroctonus</i> , 963-1025. (As associate his brother, Con- stantine, 1028.) ¹	Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, 1034-1042. Michael V, 1042.
Nicephorus II, Phocas, 963-969. ¹	Constantine IX or X, <i>Monomachus</i> ,
John I, Zimisces, 969-976. ¹	1042-1055. (Reigns with his wife Zoe.)
Constantine VIII or IX, 1025- 1028.	Theodora, 1055-1057.
Romanus III, <i>Argyros</i> , 1028-1034.	Michael VI, <i>Stratioticus</i> , 1057.

Comnenian Dynasty, 1057-1204

Isaac I, Comnenus, 1057-1059. ¹	Alexius I, Comnenus, 1081-1118.
Constantine X or XI, Ducas, 1059- 1067. ¹	John or Calojohannes, Comnenus, 1118-1143.
Eudocia, 1067-1071. ¹	Manuel I, Comnenus, 1143-1180.
(In the name of her sons, Michael VII, 1067-1078, Andronicus and Constantine, and with her sec- ond husband, Romanus IV, 1067-1071.)	Alexius II, Comnenus, 1180-1183. Andronicus I, Comnenus, 1183- 1185.
Michael VII (see above), 1071-1078. ¹	Isaac II, Angelus, 1185-1195.
Nicephorus III, <i>Botaniates</i> , 1078- 1081. ¹	Alexius III, Angelus, 1195-1203. ¹ Isaac II (restored), { Alexius IV, Angelus, } 1203-1204. Alexius V, Ducas, 1204. ¹

¹ Usurper.

CHAPTER XI

The Crusades

SUMMARY.—In order to reconquer the territory overrun by the Turks the emperor, Alexius, sought aid from the West. The Pope, to whom he appealed, aroused the Christians, by an eloquent address, to conquer the Holy Land. Hundreds of thousands took the cross and went to Constantinople and Syria. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was established, and the men from the west lived for two centuries in close and intimate association with the Greeks and Mohammedans. Moreover, in 1204, Constantinople was captured by the Crusaders, and the Latin Empire established. The most important results of these movements, which brought the inhabitants of western Europe into intimate and long-continued relations with the more civilized peoples of the east, were the great intellectual advance, and the enrichment of France, Italy, Germany, and England.

THE emperor, Alexius, after having expelled the invaders from the European portion of his empire, desired to recover Asia Minor and Syria. The dis-union among the Turks seemed to afford him an excellent opportunity. But he felt the need of additional soldiers, because his own forces had been weakened by the continuous warfare of the preceding years. He was unable to obtain recruits from Asia Minor as he had done in the past, consequently he turned his attention to the West. For a long time the emperors had been accustomed to take into their service Danes, Englishmen, and other adventurers from the West, who formed the Varangian guard, the emperor's most efficient corps. In 1074, after the disastrous defeat in Asia Minor, an appeal for troops had been made by the emperor to Gregory VII,

Alexius appeals
for aid.

and an army of 50,000 men had been raised for the aid of the eastern empire. But the investiture struggle¹ and other troubles had prevented the Pope from sending this assistance. In 1095 Alexius made a new request for aid to expel the Turks from his Asiatic dominions.

The fact that this appeal was made to the Pope is an excellent illustration of the condition of affairs at the close of the eleventh century. Notwithstanding the long investiture struggle, the Pope was the only possible source of aid in western Europe. The German king was powerless to aid Alexius; he was barely able to maintain his own position against his rebellious subjects and his son. The French king was under the ban of excommunication, and possessed too little real power to give aid to any one. In England, William Rufus was engaged in quelling the revolt of the barons, which had been occasioned by his tyrannical rule. In Spain the kings were occupied in warfare with the Moors. No one of the other countries had as yet secured a position of importance in the affairs of Europe.

The emperor's ambassadors presented themselves at the council of Piacenza in March, 1095, and appealed for aid. The Pope, Urban II, took up the matter in earnest, and during the succeeding months matured his plans. He decided to begin the movement in France, where the people were suffering from the evils caused by overpopulation. Accordingly, at the council of Clermont, in November, after the other business had been finished, he made an eloquent address to the people, urging them to undertake a crusade. He depicted the dangers and disasters which threatened the Byzantine Empire; he dwelt upon the cruel treatment of the Christians in the East and the desecration of the holy places by the Turks; he contrasted the opportunities in

Why the Pope
was appealed to.

The council of
Clermont.

¹ See page 59.

“the land flowing with milk and honey” with their own sad lot in France; he promised that Christ would be their leader, and that the journey should take the place of all other penance for their sins.

“Many orations have been delivered with as much eloquence and in as fiery words as the Pope used, but no other oration has ever been able to boast of as wonderful results.” The people cried out, “It is the will of God,” and rushed forward by thousands to receive the cross, the symbol of their vow. For the Pope had appealed to the most powerful motives of the age. Many were incited by religious zeal; some were inspired with military ardor; others desired to better their condition; still others were attracted by the promise of the remission of penance. In the minds of many the various motives combined, and it is impossible to say which was the most powerful incentive. Although the undertaking had been begun for the purpose of carrying aid to the Greek empire, the Pope and the crusaders subordinated this purpose to the plan of reconquering Jerusalem and of obtaining possession of the Holy Land.

During the winter of 1095–1096 members of the Church were busily engaged in preaching the crusade. Peter the Hermit was the most active and the most successful.¹ He journeyed through the middle of France to Paris, and from there to Cologne, preaching to the people as he went. Everywhere he met with an enthusiastic reception, and found many recruits who abandoned their homes and followed him.

The Pope had fixed August 15, 1096, as the date of departure for the crusaders, but the men who followed Peter were too impatient to wait. One band set off on April 15; a second, led by Peter himself, a few days later; three

¹ See the description of Peter in *Translations and Reprints*, vol. i, No. 2, p. 20.

others followed in rapid succession. These bands were composed of men, women, and children, mostly French and Germans; there were comparatively few knights. The greater part of the host which started with Peter were from the city of Cologne and its vicinity; as he marched through Germany two bishops and over twenty knights joined him. These bands marched across Germany, through Hungary and Bulgaria, and down to Constantinople. Many perished by the way, some were driven back, and those who reached Constantinople were so disorderly that the emperor urged them to cross over into Asia Minor, where most of them were slaughtered by the Turks.

During the summer and fall of the year 1096 the great nobles and the real army of crusaders set out for the Holy Land. The most noteworthy leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon, who afterward became the ruler of Jerusalem, and Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard. The host was composed of men from all the

The real army.

nations of western Europe, but French and Normans were most numerous. They marched by different routes, and did not join together into one army until they reached the city of Nicæa in the summer of 1097. The army may then have numbered some hundreds of thousands, if all the monks, women, children, and camp-followers were included; but the effective force probably did not amount to over 100,000 men. This number, however, would have



DUKE ROBERT OF NORMANDY.¹

¹ In Gloucester Cathedral.

been amply sufficient for the conquest of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, if the Greek emperor had given efficient aid, and if discipline had been maintained among the crusaders.

Alexius had asked for assistance, but had not counted upon the coming of such a host. Moreover, he was alarmed

Alexius and the
crusaders.

when he heard that his old enemy Bohemond was with the crusaders; but the opportunity was too tempting to be neglected, and he determined to use the army for his own purposes. As the leaders arrived separately at Constantinople, Alexius endeavored to obtain from each one an oath of vassalage, so that all the conquests might be subject to the imperial authority. The emperor used every means to effect this; he tried in turn violence, bribery, and promises. He succeeded finally in obtaining some kind of an oath from every leader, but in doing so he aroused a feeling of bitter animosity among the crusaders. After Nicæa had been besieged and practically captured by the crusaders, the latter found themselves deprived of their booty by the emperor, who had persuaded the citizens to surrender to him. The leaders, whom he bribed, "withdrew with kindly feelings, others with different emotions." After this the crusaders received no aid from the emperor, and many came to regard him as an enemy.

From Nicæa the army proceeded slowly to Antioch, which was taken after a siege of over seven months, and then to Jerusalem, which was captured July 15, 1099. There had been many delays due to the lack of discipline in the army and to the desire of the chiefs to make conquests for their own advantage. A participant complained that "each one wished only the greatest possible advantage to himself, and thought not at all of the common good." Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, had left the army in order to obtain possession of Edessa. Bohemond had remained at Antioch, which he had secured, and was more intent upon building up a strong

The march to
Jerusalem.

principality there than upon aiding in the capture of Jerusalem. Others had deserted the host for the sake of holding fortresses which they had captured; many more had grown disheartened because of the dangers and privations on the long march, and had returned home. There had been no recognized head to the army, and no means of restraining the individual crusaders; each one had done just as he pleased.

After conquering Jerusalem the crusaders elected Godfrey "Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." When he died, in the following year, his brother Baldwin was elected king. Conquests were added to the kingdom from time to time until it included most of the cities and villages near Jerusalem. In addition the county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa were held by the Franks.¹ From north to south the ex-

The kingdom of
Jerusalem.

treme length of the states founded by the crusaders was about 525 miles; the breadth was, except in the north, 50 miles or less.

Much of this territory was rocky and barren, and the fertile portions along the coast and those in the interior were separated by mountains. There were Mohammedan cities and fortresses scattered along the whole eastern frontier, and no Christian city was distant more than a day's ride from some Mohammedan stronghold. Consequently border raids were very frequent.

Their position forced the Franks to depend to a great extent upon the natives, whom they were obliged to employ constantly. The crusaders were relatively few in number and were engaged in military service or in commerce. Their lands were cul-

Intimate asso-
ciation with the
natives.

tivated by the native Syrians, who were either Christian or Mohammedan; their houses were built and their churches adorned by Greeks or Armenian architects and artists;

¹ A collective name for all the men from the West.



their sick were doctored by the Jewish or Arab doctors; their merchants traded extensively with all the natives. In warfare the Mohammedans and the westerners learned to respect each other's valor; in times of peace they mingled freely with each other and sometimes intermarried. In these various ways the Franks were brought into constant and intimate association with the more advanced civilizations of the East. They acquired new tastes, new habits, and new ideals, and when they returned they introduced these into their homes.

The success of the Christians in the early decades of the twelfth century caused the Mohammedans to unite in self-defense. Zangi, the ruler of Mosul, was the first to check the advance of the Christians. He was engaged from 1127 to 1143 in making himself supreme over all the Moslem lords in the North. He then turned his forces against Edessa, which he captured in 1144. The news of the fall of this city aroused the inhabitants of western Europe to renewed exertions. Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany led great armies to the Holy Land, but dissensions among the Christians caused the entire failure of the expedition, and the kings returned without having accomplished anything. Some imputed their failure to the treachery of the Greek emperor, but the majority blamed some of the Franks who lived in the Holy Land, and during the next forty years requests for aid were received coldly in the West.

The second
crusade.¹

¹ It is customary to give numbers to certain crusades, namely: the first, 1096-1099; the second, 1147-1149; the third, 1189-1192; the fourth, 1202-1204; the fifth, 1228-1229; the sixth, 1248-1254. But there were many other great expeditions, notably the crusade of 1101; the German crusade, 1197; the crusade against Damietta, 1217-1221; and the second crusade of St. Louis, 1270. Almost every year in the twelfth century bands of pilgrims or crusaders went to the Holy Land for a stay of a few months or longer. Even after the fall of Acre in 1291 crusades still continued to be preached, but these were not exclusively, or even mainly, against the Mohammedans.

Although it has never been possible to determine the exact truth, it is probable that the failure of the second crusade was due to the attitude of certain Franks settled in the East. For many of the crusaders did not wish to wage war, but preferred to maintain cordial relations with the Moslems. There had been a great change in the character of the Franks who settled in the Holy Land. The early crusaders had been mainly Normans and men from the North who loved fighting for its own sake. Those who had come later

The two parties
in the kingdom.



COIN OF BOHEMOND.
(Obverse and reverse.)

were to a great extent Italians and men from the south of Europe, who were interested in commerce and consequently desired peace. In general, after the second crusade, the majority of the Franks who were living in Syria were averse to war; the new arrivals and the military orders of the Templars and Hospitallers¹ were the ones desirous of fighting with the infidels; yet even the members of the two orders frequently entered into friendly relations with the Moslems. The peace party was the more numerous and was able usually to maintain peace, but war might be caused at any time by some aggression on the Mohammedans by the war party.

¹ The order of the Templars was founded in 1119 to protect pilgrims in Palestine. They took their name from the temple of Solomon, near which their original dwelling was placed. The order of the Hospitallers grew out of a brotherhood to nurse the sick in the hospital of St. John the Baptist, established at Jerusalem in 1070. This brotherhood was changed into a military order on the model of the Templars. Its members were known later as Knights of St. John and Knights of Malta. The order still exists with its headquarters at Rome. These two orders became the most powerful defenders of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In 1187, during a period of truce, one of the Frankish lords rashly attacked and plundered a Mohammedan caravan. This caused the fall of Jerusalem. For most of the Moslems were now united under the leadership of Saladin, the great hero and the ablest leader whom the crusaders encountered. Aroused by this breach of peace, he attacked the Christians, annihilated their army in a single battle, captured their king, and in a few weeks conquered almost all the cities in the South, including Jerusalem.

The fall of
Jerusalem.

The news of the fall of the holy city aroused Europe from its apathy regarding the crusades. Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lion-hearted of England took the cross and led great armies to the East. Frederick died before reaching Palestine and his troops separated, some continuing their march as far as Acre and others returning home. Richard and Philip, after a long siege, succeeded in recapturing Acre, but quarreled so bitterly that Philip returned home. After his departure Richard accomplished nothing of importance, but by his personal valor he made a deep impression upon the Moslems and has become a hero of romance.

The third
crusade.

The popes continued to urge the need of a new crusade and many thousands took the cross; but little was accomplished until 1202, when a number of French knights were induced to join in the movement.

The fourth
crusade.

They realized that it was necessary to go by sea, and bargained with the Venetians to furnish vessels. They met at Venice, but at the time agreed upon comparatively few were present, and these could not pay all the sum promised for the vessels. After long delay they were persuaded by the Venetians to earn the balance of the money by capturing Zara, a city on the opposite side of the Adriatic which was drawing away trade from Venice. Many of the crusaders were opposed to this because Zara was a

Christian city, but were powerless to prevent it. After the capture of Zara the crusaders were persuaded by the Venetians to go to Constantinople with the ostensible purpose



COIN OF DANDOLO.
(Obverse and reverse.)

of reinstating Alexius, "the lawful heir," whose father had been driven out by a usurper. Alexius promised a large sum of money and offered many inducements. Although the Pope ordered them not to go to Constantinople, the majority dis-

obeyed and succeeded in reinstating Alexius and his father. It had been very easy for Alexius when he was an exile to make promises, but after he and his father were reinstated in power they could not fulfil the agreements.

Consequently the crusaders attacked and sacked the city and established the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which lasted for fifty-seven years (1204-1261). By the sack they obtained a great amount of booty, but their whole conduct was indefensible and criminal. Constantinople was a Christian city and had been for centuries the great bulwark of Europe against the Turks. It was so weakened by this wanton attack that it never regained its strength, and in 1453 was captured with comparative ease by the Turks.

Many believed that the crusades had failed because of the sinful lives of the crusaders, and that if the pure in heart should undertake a crusade under divine guidance they would be successful. This feeling led to the children's crusade in 1212, when many thousands of boys and girls, with some older people, started on a peaceful crusade to convert the Moslems and to recover Jerusalem. The movement began near Paris, and from there extended to the Rhine valley. Most of the French children returned home after a few weeks,

The children's
crusade.

without having left France. The German children marched up the Rhine, across the Alps, and down into Italy, expecting the Mediterranean to open and leave a passage, as the Red Sea had done for the children of Israel. Some were induced by crafty men to embark in vessels, and were sold into slavery to the Mohammedans; many remained in Italy; the others returned home after some months of wandering. This expedition is of importance because it illustrates the extent to which the religious zeal for the crusades still existed among the people of France and Germany.

In 1229 Frederick II by diplomacy persuaded the Moslem ruler to cede Jerusalem to the Christians. Later, St.

Louis took the cross and attempted to conquer

Later crusades.

Egypt, the chief seat of the Moslem power. His campaign began successfully, but eventually he was taken prisoner, and compelled to pay a ransom to secure his freedom. In 1270 he started on a second expedition, which was directed to Tunis, where St. Louis died of the plague. During this and the succeeding centuries there were many other crusades against the Moslems in the East, but none of especial importance.

After 1229 the Franks held Jerusalem for fifteen years, and lived on friendly terms with the Moslems. It was a

period of prosperity for the Christian colonies,

which were the seats of extensive commerce,

wealth, and refinement. But in 1244 a new

horde of Turks swept over Syria and Palestine, conquering the cities and destroying civilization. The Franks lost one

stronghold after another until their possessions were re-

stricted to the single city of Acre. Finally this was cap-

tured by the Turks, in 1291, and the crusaders were com-

pelled to withdraw from the land which they had held for

nearly two centuries.

It is very difficult to determine the extent to which the crusades influenced western Europe. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries great changes took place in every

country, and it is possible in many instances to attribute these in part to the influence of the crusades. Thus, although the great increase in the power of the kings of France¹ was not caused by the crusades, the kings profited by the absence of the adventurous and ambitious men who went on crusades. There were undoubtedly fewer private wars when so many turbulent knights had left France, and this was a positive blessing. The position of the

French peasants was not changed materially by the crusades, but after the first the evils of overpopulation, which had been so great in the eleventh century, were no longer felt. Food was more plenty, and labor in greater demand. In many ways, which will be apparent in the following chapters, the crusades aided in effecting results which were due mainly to other causes.

Of the direct results the most important was the broadening of the intellectual horizon. Hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children took part in the various crusades. They came from all the countries of western Europe, and in their travels were brought into contact with many different nations and civilizations. They acquired new tastes and new ideas. They lost many of their prejudices against foreigners and foreign ways when they were brought into actual contact with them. In fact, they profited by one of the most effective means of education—travel in foreign lands. As the people who stayed at home were eager to hear of the strange lands and adventures, poems and histories of the crusades were written in the vernacular, and thus more people shared in the intellectual awakening. Some additions to their knowledge were made; for instance, the crusaders learned the use of windmills, and soon these were scattered over all western Europe. The crusaders

Results of the
crusades.

Intellectual
advance.

¹ See Chapter XVIII.



COSTUMES OF WOMEN IN THE TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

also learned to like spiced foods, and consequently spices, which had been very rare before, came into common use. But more important than the special acquisitions was the general broadening influence. Yet even the great intellectual advance during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not due wholly to the crusades; it had begun before the first crusade. In history it is seldom possible to attribute any great change to a single cause.

A second very important result was the impetus to commerce. Many of the crusaders went by sea, and large vessels were built to carry them, their horses, and their supplies. The vessels, on their return, furnished a ready means of carrying commodities to the West. The cost of transportation was almost eliminated, as many of the vessels would have been compelled to return empty, if they had not secured these commodities. The crusaders in the Holy Land needed supplies from the West; those who returned home desired the luxuries with which they had become acquainted in the East. As crusaders in larger or smaller numbers were going to the Holy Land by sea each year, an active trade was maintained, and the people in the West gradually learned to use and need the Oriental products. As long as the Syrian seaports were held by the Christians, it was from these cities that Europe obtained spices, sugar, silks, glassware, dyestuffs, and many other

commodities which were brought from China, India, and Arabia. The Italian ports furnished most of the vessels, and profited especially by this trade. From Italy the eastern commodities were carried over the Alps and down the rivers to the German, French, and Flemish cities. From the latter many wares were shipped to England. This trade enriched the inhabitants of the cities and aided in the rise of the third estate.¹

Enrichment
of Europe.

¹ See Chapter XIV.

This commerce necessitated an abundant supply of money. Before 1204 the crusades did not bring into western Europe any great additions to the actual stock of gold and silver, but they caused almost all the existing stock to be used as money.

Increased use
of money.

When the nobles made their preparations to leave home they needed supplies and equipments for their journey. They obtained money to buy these by selling or mortgaging their fiefs, or by selling privileges to citizens and others. The gold and silver which had been hoarded, often in the shape of ornaments, were turned into money to pay for the lands or privileges. The churches and monasteries used much of their wealth in this way, and became more wealthy by buying fiefs at a low price. The money which was brought into use circulated rapidly, and furnished the capital for trade. All the western countries were enriched; the kings, the churches, and the cities shared in this prosperity more than the nobles.

Heraldic devices and family names came into use during the time of the crusades and mainly from the conditions in the Holy Land. When clad in armor, knights could not be distinguished easily from one another. As a rule, each one had to adopt some device by which his fellows could tell him in battle. The sprig of broom-plant,¹ from which they took their name, marked the Plantagenets. In the Holy Land this custom was widely extended, and resulted in armorial bearings. Many of the terms in heraldry betray their Eastern origin, as they are merely Arabic words taken over into French.

Heraldic devices
and family
names.

Family names developed rapidly in the Holy Land for the same reason. When there were many knights named Gilbert, or Godfrey, or Stephen, it was necessary that each one should be known by some distinctive epithet. In his own home, where the knight was all-powerful, where he

¹ *Planta genesta.*

was living, for the most part, at his castle in the country, it had been entirely unnecessary for him to have any distinguishing name; Lord Hugh or Lord Gilbert represented something very definite; but in the crusading hosts each one had to have some distinctive epithet. These names were derived from personal peculiarities or from the place in which the men had lived previously. Broadhead, Strong, White, Byfield, Atwater, will suggest such derivations. Other names came from the occupations in which the men had been engaged; Smith and Clark (clerk) are the most common examples.

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KINGS OF JERUSALEM, 1100-1187

Baldwin I, 1100-1118.

Baldwin II, 1118-1131.

Fulco of Anjou, 1131-1143.

Baldwin III, 1143-1162.

Amalric, 1162-1174.

Baldwin IV, 1174-1185.

Baldwin V, 1185-1186.

Guy of Lusignan, 1186-1187.

CHAPTER XII

The Monastic Orders

SUMMARY.—During the period of the crusades many monastic orders were founded. Cluny was the most influential monastery, and the model chosen by many of the others. In particular, the “Congregation of Cluny” established a new feature of great importance for the future influence of the religious orders. France was the especial home of these new orders, and the Cistercians became the most famous. This was due chiefly to Bernard of Clairvaux, a Cistercian monk, who became the leading man in Europe. The reform movement affected not merely the monks, but also the priests who were the guides of the people, and led to the establishment of canons regular.

DURING the age of the crusades there was a wonderful increase in the number of monks. The same religious fervor which led many to take the cross caused others to enter monasteries. Many new orders of monks were founded, because the spirit of asceticism,¹ which was so prominent a factor in medieval religion, led men and women to desire a life of stricter discipline and greater privations than the rule of Benedict² had prescribed. This movement was most pronounced in France, where many of the new orders originated, but it affected every country of western Europe.

In order to understand this monastic movement, it is

¹ The practise of discipline and self-denial as a religious duty.

² Benedict of Nursia, who died in 543, wrote the rule which was followed by the great majority of monks throughout the middle ages. This rule prescribed humility, poverty, and manual labor for its followers.

necessary to go back to the foundation of Cluny, a Benedictine monastery in Burgundy. During the internal wars and invasions of the latter half of the ninth century many monasteries had fallen under the power of worldly men, who used their positions to satisfy their own ambition or greed. The life of the inmates became less strict, and the work of education was to a great extent abandoned. The wealth which had been accumulated was used for the enjoyment of the monks or to satisfy the worldly ambition of their rulers. The feudal nobles who had usurped power in the various districts tried to obtain control of the monasteries, and when they succeeded in doing so, used their power for the purpose of private gain. Sometimes they appointed as abbots¹ their children or their retainers. In order to counteract these evils, the monastery of Cluny was founded in 910, and was placed under the direct supervision of the Pope. No other power, lay or clerical, was to exercise any authority over it or to interfere in any way with the freedom of its monks.

Foundation of
Cluny.

At Cluny the life of the monks was regulated by the rule of St. Benedict; but as it had an ample endowment, manual labor was not necessary, and was insisted upon only to preserve a spirit of humility. The monks were required to make bread, to do weeding, and to perform other duties which did not consume a great amount of time. Their days were spent mainly in religious services, in the copying of manuscripts, in studying both sacred and profane literature, and in teaching others. The last was held to be very important, and Cluny soon became one of the great centers of education in the west of Europe. The revenues not actually needed for the support of its members were devoted to charity. As many as seventeen thousand poor people re-

Reforms of
Cluny.

¹ The abbot was the head of the monastery.

ceived assistance in a single year during the latter half of the eleventh century. In a time of famine the sacred vessels were sold in order to provide food for the starving peasants.

In the earlier centuries, whenever a monastery had become overcrowded, a new and independent establishment had been founded, but the offshoots were in no way subject to the parent house. If the discipline became lax, or if a monastery fell under a dissolute ruler, there was great difficulty in correcting the evils. Cluny adopted the plan of keeping all its new foundations under the rule of its abbot. Officers, known as priors, who were subordinate to him, were appointed to rule the different houses; they were required to report regularly, and their monasteries were visited frequently by the abbot. This plan worked so well that many independent houses were affiliated, and the collective body was known as the Congregation of Cluny. In the middle of the twelfth century this was composed of over two thousand monasteries, situated in different countries, but all directed by one abbot. The members of this great congregation, which possessed enormous wealth and influence, worked as a unit to carry out the policy and to effect the reforms which the Cluniacs desired.

In particular, they tried enthusiastically to reform the Church and to free it from all control by kings or feudal nobles. They believed that the power of the Pope should be increased and established more firmly over all Christians. They thought that members of the clergy should be wholly free from all worldly interests, and should devote themselves entirely to the service of the Church. Accordingly, they sought to root out simony, to compel the priests to live a life of celibacy, and to prevent lay rulers from exercising any control over elections to clerical offices. They were of very great assistance to the popes in the investiture struggle—

The congregation of Cluny.

The ideals of Cluny.



CLOISTERS OF MOISSAC.

in fact, the ideas which Hildebrand attempted to put into practise were the outgrowth of the ideals held at Cluny.

This impetus for reform was felt widely, in England, in Germany, and especially in Italy. In the last-named country, about 1018, St. Romuald founded the order of Camaldoli,¹ which became a great support to the papacy, and held much the same position for Italy that Cluny did for France. Among its most famous members were Peter Damiani, a reformer and writer of the eleventh century, and Gratian, the author of the *Decretum*.²

France was the country which was most profoundly affected, and new orders were founded there with great rapidity. The order of Grammont³ was established in 1073 by Stephen, a nobleman who had been especially influenced by the example of the hermits whom he had seen in Italy. After his return to France he led a life of the most extreme asceticism for fifty years, eating nothing but bread and drinking only water. Others were attracted to him by his holiness and imitated his austerities, so that he soon had many followers. St. Stephen did not wish them to be called monks, but merely "good men." They were to practise absolute poverty, and were to have nothing to do with the management of any property which the order held. This last provision was disastrous, for the lay brethren who were in charge of the property attempted to control the "good men." This caused internal strife, and led to the ruin of the order.

The Carthusian⁴ order was founded in 1084 by St. Bruno, who, like St. Stephen, sought to establish a more

¹ Camaldoli was a monastery in the Apennines, near Arezzo.

² See Chapter XVI.

³ Near Limoges.

⁴ Derived from Chartreux, the name given to the spot where the order originated.

SOME OF THE
MONASTERIES
 IN FRANCE
 12TH CENTURY

SCALE OF MILES

0 10 20 30 40

Note: Monasteries indicated by circles.
 Only the more important ones are
 shown.



ascetic form of life than that followed in the Benedictine monasteries. He chose for his dwelling a spot in the mountains remote from human habitation; his followers were to wear haircloth shirts, to eat the most meager food, to live in almost perpetual silence, and to engage in manual labor. Each monk had his own cell, where he worked, ate, and slept; meditation and prayer were his most important occupations. But St. Bruno ordered them also to study and copy manuscripts. The order increased rapidly in numbers, and soon its houses were scattered over all western Europe. In France, each of their homes was called a *Chartreuse*; in England, a *Charter-house*. Although they obtained great wealth, they continued the life enjoined by their founder. Their magnificent buildings still attest the greatness of their order.

The preaching of the crusades caused many to repent and to endeavor to lead a more Christian life. Peter the Hermit, the great preacher of the first

Impetus to
monasticism
from the
crusades.

crusade, was especially successful in reforming evil customs. Each new summons to the aid of the Holy Land caused a reformation in manners and a greater religious fervor. Many who came under the spell of the preacher preferred to atone for their sins by entering a monastery rather than by going on a crusade, with which so many worldly motives were combined. A monk, who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century, said that of the thousands who were converted at the time of the second crusade by St. Bernard's preaching,



PILGRIM.

those who were worthy were sent by him into monasteries, the others were ordered to go to the aid of the Holy Land. Although this statement is not strictly accurate, it represents what actually took place on many occasions, because of the conviction that it was more holy to take the monastic vows than to go on a crusade.

There were many other new orders, of which the most important was the Cistercian,¹ founded in 1099. Its members were to lead a life of extreme asceticism, wholly apart from the world. The abbeys or monasteries were to be built far from cities, and were to possess only such property as could be cultivated by the monks. Nothing was to be allowed which would bring the latter into contact with secular affairs. They were never to take charge of parishes nor to teach schools. Education was not necessary for them—it was enough if they could say a few prayers. They were to cook their own meager repasts. Their churches were to be wholly without ornamentation; they were to have bare walls, no stone towers, no stained-glass windows, no organs, and no gold or silver crosses. Everything must be reduced to the bare necessities. Their robes were to be of undyed woolen cloth, and consequently were of a grayish-white color; hence the Cistercians, in contrast with the black-robed Cluniacs, were styled the white monks. This extreme asceticism answered the needs of the age, and the order soon became even more highly revered and influential than Cluny.

Bernard of
Clairvaux.

This success was due in great part to St. Bernard, who was for a quarter of a century the most influential man in Europe. Born of a noble family, he entered the Cistercian order in his youth, and distinguished himself at once by piety and zeal. His enthusiastic persuasions induced his brothers and relatives,

¹ Derived from the original house at Cîteaux, between Dijon and Châlon.

to the number of thirty, to join the order. His absolute faith and intense love of asceticism made of him a perfect monk; his eloquence, piety, and ability caused him to become the arbiter between kings and rival popes. His keen knowledge of affairs, excellent judgment, and executive ability caused his aid to be sought on every important occasion; he responded to every call and gave his services wherever they were needed because he felt it to be a duty; but he longed passionately to return to his cell apart from the world. He had a great contempt for study and for appeals to the human reason, believing that faith was all-sufficient and knowledge unnecessary. He did all in his power to oppose the growth of the schools at Paris. In one sermon before the students he exclaimed, "Flee from Babylon and save your souls"; whereupon twenty of the students left all and followed him to become monks. It is difficult to understand his complex character, but in studying his life it is easy to see that he was a man of a singularly lovable character and of commanding ability; one of the world's great men.

He founded the monastery of Clairvaux, which became the model for the whole Cistercian order. When two rival popes were elected, in 1130, St. Bernard declared in favor of Innocent II, who had received the smaller number of votes, but whom he considered the more worthy. By his eloquence he persuaded Louis VI of France, Henry I of England, and the emperor, Lothair, of Germany, to accept the candidate whom he favored. He won over the Milanese, and after eight years of papal schism had the satisfaction of seeing Innocent recognized by the whole Church. This was acknowledged by all contemporaries

What he did, to be the work of Bernard alone. He also reconciled the emperor, Lothair, with the Hohenstaufens, who had opposed his claims. He established peace between Genoa and Pisa, which were bitter rivals. He was influential in getting papal recognition for

the Knights Templar, and the greater part of their rule was his work. He preached the second crusade and induced the emperor, Conrad, of Germany, to take the cross. Conrad at first refused to do so, but could not withstand the eloquence of Bernard; astonished at his own action, the emperor called his sudden change of heart a "miracle of miracles." Bernard was foremost in every work of reform and in combating the heresies of the day. In fact, from 1125 to 1153, although he held no official position, he was the arbiter in political affairs and the leader in spiritual thought for all western Europe. His last act was the establishment of peace at Metz, where the nobles and citizens were engaged in murderous combat. This journey, undertaken while he was seriously ill, caused his death, August 20, 1153. Comparatively early in his career his health had been undermined by the austerities which he practised and by the fatiguing life of action which he led; nothing but an indomitable spirit had enabled him to accomplish so much work.

St. Bernard was only one of many monks who influenced profoundly the spirit of the age in which they lived.

Other monks. Gregory VII, the great opponent of Henry IV,

Urban II, who started the crusading movement, and many other great men, illustrate the services of the monasteries in educating the leaders of human thought. In the twelfth century monasticism was in the popular estimation the most holy mode of life; and even comparatively obscure individuals were revered because they led lives of privation. The growth of the fable which ascribed to Peter the Hermit the credit for the first crusade can be traced in great part to the desire to glorify the monastic profession, of which he was a member. For the eleventh and twelfth centuries formed an age in which sharp contrasts were common. It was not at all unusual for a brutal warrior, laden with sin, to flee from the world and to do penance in a monastery for the evil life he had led. At a

time when the exactions of the feudal lords were almost unbearable, the charity of the monks shone out conspicuously. In a world where might made right, and the nobles seemed bent wholly upon sating their passions, the example of the ascetic monks was remarkably attractive.

The reverence of the people caused them to make gifts to the monasteries, and the more strict and holy the life in any order was, the greater the wealth which it received. This wealth and the power exercised by the abbots attracted ambitious men to the orders. Generally the privations were gradually lessened and the duties

neglected. The Cister-
 Why the influ-
 ence of the
 monks declined.

cians, in spite of their strict rule, became enormously wealthy, and engaged in secular business; in the thirteenth century a large part of the woolen trade in England was in their hands. As their property increased their virtues became less conspicuous. Furthermore, Bernard of Clairvaux, in spite of his wonderful success, was really struggling against the current of the age. The craving for knowledge and the development of the human reason against which he strove were becoming more and more dominant. The increasing wealth of Europe and the absorption of interest in temporal affairs were to render many of his other ideals obsolete. But the monastic spirit, which he inculcated, has always found disciples, and the monks of his age have always received their due meed of admiration and reverence.

The spirit of asceticism and reform was not confined wholly to the monks, who lived apart from the world. It was felt to be quite as important that the secular clergy



LETTER-CARRIER.

who guided the people should be raised to a higher standard. A beginning was made with the cathedral and collegiate chapters. A cathedral chapter was composed of the clergy who were attached to the cathedral of a bishop. A collegiate chapter was composed of the clergy in towns which had no bishop. Many chapters had acquired great possessions, which were divided into separate portions called prebends, and assigned to the members to supply their needs. Following the custom of the age, many of the holders of these prebends were living as feudal lords. The reformers desired to recall them from their secular pursuits and to make them live in common under a rule.

The Canons Regular: the Chapters. At first there was great resistance, as the prebendaries, or holders of the prebends, were unwilling to resign their wealth and power; but in the course of time many chapters adopted the rule of St. Augustine,¹ and came to be known as Canons Regular, or Augustinian Canons, or Austin Canons. This rule commanded the observance of many monastic customs, and also the care of souls—that is, the canons were to be priests and were to officiate in the churches.

Not content with the slow progress in the chapters, and feeling the need of more men to guide and serve the people, Norbert and others founded orders of canons.

Premonstratensians. The most noted was the Premonstratensian, established at Prémontré,² about 1121, by Norbert. Its members, who were also known as Austin Canons, lived under a rule of great strictness, were compelled to take the monastic vows and to perform manual labor, and, in addition, to undertake pastoral cares. Separate monasteries for women were established. The order met with great favor, and Premonstratensian abbeys rose rapidly in

¹ The rule which was believed to have been framed by St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, who died in 430.

² Not far from Laon.

the different countries; this order was foremost in missionary work among the Slavs beyond the river Elbe. Most of the orders founded later were patterned after the Canons Regular, in combining the monastic life with the pastoral care. This fitted them particularly for their usefulness, and also led to a decline in the importance of the older orders which did not undertake the care of souls.

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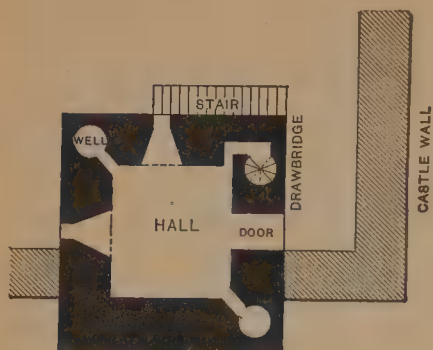
CHAPTER XIII

Life of the Nobles (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)

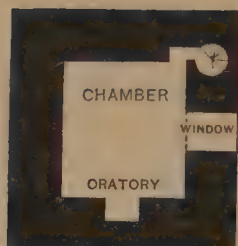
SUMMARY.—The castles were the homes of the noble classes, and were built in the strongest possible manner, especially to serve as a refuge in case of attack. In order to alleviate the misery and bloodshed caused by the constant wars, the Church attempted to establish the Peace of God and the Truce of God, but with very small results. The education of the noble youths and maidens was intended to prepare them to be lords and mistresses of castles. The gradual refinement of manners and the influence of the Church led to the ceremony of knighthood and the ideals of chivalry. The amusements, too, became somewhat less coarse; minstrelsy and tournaments threw a fictitious glamour over the life of the nobles. The changed ideals of the age and the increasing wealth of the other classes caused a decline in the importance of the nobility.

DURING the invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries many castles were built for the protection of the people.

The early castles. These consisted usually of a wooden tower, several stories in height, surrounded by rude walls of wood or stone, and ditches. These became the homes of the feudal lords, and the centers from which they ruled their fiefs. But they were exposed to constant danger from fire—especially in times of war. The suzerain who wished to conquer rebellious vassals burned their castles; William the Conqueror excelled in this mode of fighting. As the towers were of wood, they were rebuilt quickly, and often reburned as quickly. Consequently the nobles began to use stone in place of wood, and gradually the massive stone structures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were evolved.



SECOND STORY



THIRD STORY

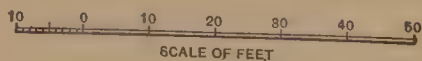
(THERE ARE ONLY THREE STORIES IN THIS CASTLE)



FIRST STORY



BLOCK PLAN
APPROXIMATE



PLAN OF CASTLETON CASTLE.



CHILLON.

In attacking a castle, the besieger relied chiefly upon siege-engines, or upon starving out the garrison. In building a castle these two elements of danger determined its situation and method of construction. Siege-engines could be used to best advantage only upon level, firm ground. Consequently there were three favorite sites for castles—upon a cliff, difficult of approach, as the Wartburg; ¹ upon an island, as Chillon; or in the center of a swamp, where the surrounding ground was too soft for the heavy engines. If it was not possible to secure such natural advantages the castle was surrounded by a moat, sometimes containing water, which would have to be filled up before the engines could approach the protecting walls.

Frequently there were two or more walls, each one formed by building two parallel ramparts of stone a short distance apart, and filling in the space between with dirt dug from the moat. This made the wall more elastic and better able to withstand the blows from a battering-ram. In the center of one side there was a single gate. The approach was usually steep, and wide enough for only one man. Before the gate there was a movable bridge across the moat, which was made especially deep at this point; in the thirteenth century drawbridges came into use. The gate itself was flanked by two towers for the purpose of defense, as this was the most vulnerable point of the castle. At the entrance there was a portcullis, usually of massive timbers or of iron, which could be raised or lowered. Sometimes there was a second portcullis at the other end of the entrance, so that a storming party might be delayed and exposed to the cross-fire of the defenders within the towers. Other towers were built at intervals, projecting from the wall, and a bow-shot apart, so as to protect the intervening portions.

¹ Near Eisenach, in Germany. This was Luther's home while he was translating part of the Bible.

Within the enclosure there were frequently other walls separating it into an outer and one or more inner portions, so as to make it difficult for an enemy to reach the actual stronghold. The various towers and other buildings were utilized for lodging and storage. But the most important parts of a large castle were the donjon and keep.¹ The former was the ordinary dwelling-place of the knight and his family; the latter formed a place of refuge if the rest of the castle should be captured. The keep had no windows or doors on the first floor, and was entered by a movable ladder. In the lower story the treasures were stored and dangerous prisoners were confined. Within the enclosure there was always either a spring, or wells, or at least a cistern for catching rain-water, so that the garrison need not suffer from thirst. If the enclosure was sufficiently large, it contained a garden for vegetables and herbs, a poultry yard, and buildings for other animals. The knights endeavored to store up enough food to guard against star-

The castle.



LADIES' COSTUMES.

¹ Because of an error made long ago, the two chief towers are confused in ordinary language, and donjon and keep are used interchangeably. Consequently we have formed a false impression of a castle. In this book donjon is used for the chief dwelling-place, as it is used by German and French historians. Keep is used for the strong tower, which is called by the Germans *Hauptthurm*, by the French *grande tour* or *maître tour*.

vation when besieged. The castle usually contained a chapel. Sometimes underground passages were built by which secret communication could be maintained with the country outside and the garrison might escape in time of need; in some cases, as at Coucy, these were of great length.

The owner of the castle was employed principally in managing his estate, in ruling his subjects, in hunting, and in fighting. The direction and government of an extensive fief required a large amount of time. In addition to the duties which now rest upon the holder of a similar property, the lord then had to administer justice, hold court, and police his domain. Hunting was a constant necessity, as this was one of the main sources of supply for the table. Fighting, above all else, was the occupation of the knight in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The kings were usually engaged in struggles against rebellious barons; private wars between nobles were incessant. The countries, especially France, were devastated by these wars, and the common people were reduced to the greatest extremities; cannibalism was not infrequent in France about the year 1000.

The Church, as usual, endeavored to institute a reform, and from 989 on, various councils in France decreed that any one who used violence toward members of the clergy, women, peasants, or merchants, should be excommunicated. This was called the Peace of God, but as its decrees were not heeded, the Church formed leagues of peace, which included individuals of all classes sworn to aid in maintaining the peace. In 1027, and later, the Church added the Truce of God—i. e., that during certain days and seasons there should be no fighting at all. At first the truce included only Sundays; later, other days in each week, church festivals and holy seasons, like Lent, were added, until only about eighty days in each year remained on which private warfare was

Occupations of
the knights.

The Peace of
God and the
Truce of God.

allowed. Thus the Peace of God was intended to protect certain classes at all times, the Truce to protect all classes at certain times. The Church was not able to enforce either because of the lawlessness of the nobles.

The wife of a noble had many duties to perform, for which she was carefully trained from her

Occupations of
the ladies.

early childhood. First of all she must know how to

sew and to spin flax and silk, as she made her own clothes and to a great extent the clothes of her husband. The coarser work, spinning of wool and weaving, was left generally to the servants, but this also was under her direction. Embroidering the so-called "tapestries" was a favorite occupation, and the completed work decorated the halls of the castles on festive occasions, graced the tournaments, or adorned the churches. On the tapestries were wrought wonderful representations of animals and men, battle scenes, or the adventures of legendary heroes. The Bayeux tapestry, which depicts the conquest of England, is the best-known example. In addition, a lady was expected to have some knowledge of medicine and nursing, in order that she might care for the sick in the castle. Finally, she had the general management of the whole household, and during her husband's absence must be ready to take his place; not infrequently a lady was compelled to defend the castle.

As the daughter was trained for her later duties, so too the son was carefully educated, in order that he might become a valiant knight. From his earliest boyhood he exercised in running, climbing, jumping, riding, swim-



STATUE REPRESENTING
LADY.

ming, shooting with a bow, and hurling a spear. At about twelve years of age his real education began. It was the custom that sons of nobles should be sent to the castle of the overlord to receive this education. There they served as pages or squires, running errands, serving at table, cleaning the weapons and armor, and attending the lords at tournaments or in battle. They were taught to use different weapons, and were expected to show their skill in horsemanship or in fighting. In addition, they were encouraged to make verses, and sing them to their own accompaniment, as this became the fashion toward the end of the twelfth century.

Education of a noble.

When the boy became of age he might be made a knight if he seemed worthy of the honor. For not even a king's son could claim knighthood as a right, and in theory it was conferred only as a reward of merit. It grew out of the old German custom of giving a youth his arms in the public assembly, a symbol of the fact that he had become a man and a member of the tribe. The Church had recognized this custom, and endeavored to use it as a means of reforming the feudal nobles. To the old German usages it had added Christian rites intended to sanctify the profession of knighthood or chivalry, and to impose some duties upon each knight. It taught that there was a "certain resemblance" between knighthood and priesthood, as both the knight and the priest had taken vows to aid the Church in its work.

Chivalry: conferring knighthood.

The three essentials in the early ceremony were the girding on of the sword, the symbol of his new honor, by some knight; the accolade, or blow on the neck, the symbol of freedom; and an exhibition of ability to use the weapons. In time the ceremony became much more complicated, and many religious, symbolical rites were added. The arms of the future knight were blessed and placed upon the altar in some church; the candidate took a bath, the symbol of purity; "watched

The ceremony.

his arms" during a night spent on his knees in prayer; attended mass; took an oath to fulfil all the duties of chivalry; received his sword and the accolade from a knight; was clad in armor and with the golden spurs by the lords and ladies present; vaulted on horseback, and with his lance in rest charged against the *quintaine*, or stuffed manikin, to show his skill. Later, the exercises became even more elaborate and more fully religious. Often on the field of battle all formality was dispensed with, and the usages were seldom as elaborate in Germany or England as in France, the especial home of chivalry.



KNIGHT, THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Knighthood was usually conferred by the suzerain, and this fact determined to a great extent the duties of a knight, which were practically the same as those of a vassal, but more idealized. The knight ought to be *sans reproche*, brave, generous, and faithful; he ought to protect the weak, to observe his oath faithfully, and to keep his honor spotless.

The reality. Chivalry introduced high ideals, but was powerless to enforce them among the turbulent nobles of the age. Deeds of cruelty and perfidy were common even on the part of the best men; it is only in the later centuries that a Bayard¹ arises. But the ideals

¹ Bayard (1476-1523) was so distinguished by his valor, piety, and magnanimity that he was called *le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*.

of chivalry inculcated by the Church and sung by the troubadours¹ were effective in improving the manners and in inciting to a more perfect courtesy.

In the twelfth century it became fashionable to play games during leisure hours. Chess, introduced from the Mohammedans, was the greatest favorite; checkers, backgammon, and dice-throwing were also popular. Dancing was an ever-welcome diversion. In the large castles dwarfs and jesters, or "court fools," were kept for the amusement of the nobles; the fools were allowed, on account of their folly, an un-

Amusements in
the castles.



GROUP OF CHESSMEN, THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

limited license in speech, and often belied their reputation by the keenness of their wits, which spared no one. They were generally adorned with a cap and bells, and frequently, like the modern clown, were made ridiculous in appearance by some device, such as shaving half the head, half the beard, and half the mustache. Strolling players, who performed acrobatic feats, were sometimes admitted to the banquet hall to exhibit their skill.

¹ Poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who lived in southern France and northern Italy and sang the praises of chivalry.

The *jongleurs* traveled about the country from castle to castle, reciting the poems of the troubadours. With musical instruments on their backs they would enter a castle, salute the lord with some poetical address, and then begin: "My lords, be silent if you wish to hear a song such as no other jongleur can sing." Then would follow some long-drawn-out narrative in verse, of which the theme might be the death of Roland, the love of Tristan and Isolde, the prowess of the Knights of the Round Table, the capture of Troy, or the deeds of the crusaders. In these stories one combat or siege follows another; banquets are described with a detail which demands the mention of each individual dish; customs and usages are depicted with a photographic minuteness which makes it possible to reproduce accurately many features of the life in a feudal castle. Occasionally in the enormous mass of poetry written by the troubadours there is a real gem, like *Aucassin and Nicolette*. Many of their tales have been translated from one language to another, and have been retold until they have become a part of the literature of modern nations. Who has not read of Roland and Oliver, King Arthur and his knights, or Parsifal?

In the intervals of peace, the nobles engaged in tournaments, or mimic warfare, as their favorite pastime. At first these were simple fights in the open fields between two companies of knights. In the thirteenth century they became elaborate entertainments, managed by very strict rules. The Church forbade them in vain, for they were universally popular; the kings of France were not any more successful in repressing them. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they reached their greatest splendor; and any especial occasion, such as the marriage of a great lord, was considered a sufficient excuse for a tournament, which would attract knights and adventurers from all directions. Technically, tournaments were battles in which whole bands engaged; jousts were combats be-

Minstrelsy.

Tournaments.



TOURNAMENT.

tween two knights. One of the reasons for their popularity was that they afforded a great opportunity for making money. Each participant, when conquered, forfeited his horse and arms to his conqueror, and must redeem his own body from captivity. Consequently the combatants were seldom killed in tournaments, and the same was true of real warfare. The armor protected a knight from many dangers; his value in money as a prisoner, from even more. The great carnage on the fields of battle was among the squires and foot-soldiers; in tournaments there was less danger to the head than to the purse. An ordinance of the king of France, in 1314, forbade tournaments and jousts "because of the great destruction and mortality of horses and sometimes of persons." On the other hand, the love of participating in tournaments frequently ruined a knight's fortune.

The nobles were generally in financial straits, because generosity in giving and lavish waste in entertaining were regarded as knightly virtues. Every possible Prodigality. occasion was seized upon for an entertainment; and none was given without providing costly banquets for all who chose to come, and valuable presents for all guests. Prodigality was considered a mark of nobility. At the cry of "Largesse"¹ the listeners showered money, ornaments, and garments upon the minstrels. Every messenger must be rewarded with a gift; friends, vassals, and all who came must have occasion to praise the liberality of the knight. This wastefulness kept even the kings and great barons in constant financial difficulties; but the knight who refrained from such a course was despised as a niggard.

Amid all this extravagance there was a great lack of many things now considered necessities. The inner walls were hung with rich tapestries or "Saracen carpets," made at Paris, which were especially prized in the thirteenth cen-

¹ A gift—the cry used by minstrels seeking reward for their services.

tury; but the rooms could not be kept warm in winter. Every poet sings the joys of spring when the earth gets warm again. At the banquets the tables groaned under the rich viands which were served in almost endless profusion; but the knights and ladies ate with their fingers.¹ The same contrast holds true in almost every feature of the life of the nobles.

Contrasts in the castle.

Their prodigality impoverished them. The increasing power of the kings, the growing wealth and influence of the merchants, the changed conditions of life in general, after the thirteenth century, caused the nobles on the Continent to lose much of their power. Many sought fortunes by becoming condottieri, or mercenary captains, in Italy or wherever war was being waged. Absorbed in the need of gaining money to maintain their rank, their ideals changed, and the life which has been described passed away. The use of gunpowder in battle finally rendered the knights and their castles equally impotent.

Decay of this life.

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¹ In 1297 the king of England owned only one fork. Forks came into common use only in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XIV

Life of the People (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)

SUMMARY.—The common people were expected in the eleventh century to do all the work and to support the other classes. Most of them were agricultural laborers, living in villages and subject to great hardships. Gradually their lot improved, although not with equal rapidity in all countries. The inhabitants of the towns and cities were under the same restraints as the other peasants. But as they lived by handicrafts and trading, they became wealthy more rapidly than the agricultural laborers. They also formed guilds, and thus, as corporate bodies, secured rights and freedom.

IN the eleventh century the population of Europe was divided by contemporaries into three classes: those who did the praying, the clergy; those who did the fighting, the nobles; and those who did the work, the common people. The last class, far more numerous than the other two combined, had no social or political importance, and was despised. Its duty was to furnish the money, food, and clothing for the nobility and clergy. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, its members began to obtain rights and to have some influence. Their progress may be studied to best advantage in France, where the advance was more rapid than in Germany or England, but not as rapid as in some parts of Italy or Spain. From the eleventh century until the fourteenth the population seems to have been increasing rapidly in all western Europe, but it is not possible to give accurate figures, as no census was taken.

Most of the people were agricultural laborers. They

The threefold
division.

were divided into various classes in each country, according to the degree of subjection in which they were held. The slaves were mere property with no rights; they were few in number and almost always foreigners. Above them came the serfs, who held small farms, for which they were obliged to perform certain services. They were forbidden by law to leave their land, and were bought and sold as a part of the estate on which they lived. Some serfs, especially those belonging to the Church, were in a better position than others; but all were the property of their lord, who might be the king, a bishop, an abbot, or other member of the nobility. Above the serfs were the so-called "freemen." The name is misleading, as they too were obliged to perform definite services for their lord; but these were not so heavy as those demanded of the lower class. Between the serfs and the freemen there were many gradations which were very important to the medieval peasants. Some had escaped from the obligations of serfdom without attaining the status of freemen; these were designated in the documents by technical terms which it is impossible to make clear. The same estate had frequently several classes of tenants, carefully distinguished because they owed different kinds of services and payments.

The villages in which they lived consisted ordinarily of a single street with houses close together on each side. A little apart from the village stood the castle or manor-house in which the lord or his representative lived and the domain land, or portion of the manor which the lord retained for his own cultivation to supply his family with food. There was usually a church with a cemetery at the back and an open space in front. Such villages can still be seen in many parts of Germany, France, and Switzerland. Around the houses extended the fields which the peasants cultivated, and near by were the forests in which the lords hunted, as a large part of the

The agricultural laborers.

The villages.



KERPEN, AN OLD GERMAN VILLAGE, WITH ITS FARMING LANDS.

The land is all divided into small strips, each inhabitant of the village having a number of these strips. Those heavily shaded, thirty-six in number, belong to the largest farmer there. *P* is the old village mill. *Q* is the village common, used for pasture. *R* is the ruin of the medieval castle. The other letters of the alphabet indicate the various parts of the village lands having each its local name. The collection of dark spots in the center represent the houses of the village.

land was still covered with woods. The houses were wretched hovels with only a single room, a single door, and no windows or chimney. Frequently the domestic animals and poultry were given the freedom of the house.

The land which any laborer held was not all in one piece, but was scattered in narrow strips among similar strips

The crops. held by the other peasants. Each year only two-thirds was cultivated; the other third was allowed to lie fallow. This was necessary, as men did not know how to enrich the soil, and consequently it was soon exhausted. Under ordinary conditions the yield per acre was not more than one-third as much as at the present day. Wheat, rye, oats, and barley seem to have been the crops most commonly cultivated. Farm animals were small. Pigs, which secured their own living by ranging in the forests, furnished most of the meat consumed. Bees were kept in large numbers, as the expense was slight; moreover, wax was in great demand for candles in the churches, and honey was an important food. There was very little trade, and each community had to produce almost everything that it needed. Grapes were raised for wine in parts of France where it is not profitable to grow them at the present day. Each village had to cultivate herbs for use in sickness, and plants from which dyes could be made.

In return for their land the peasants had to make payments in money or produce and to perform services. These varied according to the freedom of each class.

Obligations of the peasants. The freeman usually paid fixed amounts at definite times and worked on the domain land one or more days during the seasons of the year when labor was most needed. In theory the serf could be taxed as heavily and made to work as much as the lord pleased; but in practise his chief obligations were fixed by the custom in each fief. The lord, however, might at any time add new burdens and the serfs could make no effective opposition. Even under favorable conditions they usually

had to work more than half the time for their superiors, and to make payments of various kinds. Whenever any extraordinary expense was incurred they were compelled to furnish the money.

In the wars, which were frequent, the peasants suffered the most severely; their crops were destroyed and their villages burned. In times of peace, owing to their ignorance of agriculture, the crops often failed wholly or in part. Too much or too little rain or heat, and floods, were calamities against which it was impossible to guard. In a period of seventy-three years during the eleventh century there were forty-eight in which the crops in France were deficient. Whole districts suffered from famine, and because of the lack of communication between different parts of the same country provisions might be abundant in one section while people were starving in another. Pestilence followed famine and swept over the different countries with startling frequency. But no matter how hard the lot of the peasants was, they must make their payments. When their number was reduced by famine or pestilence those who were left must pay more. How else could the lords live? The latter usually had no consideration for the peasants. Even if rabbits ate up their crops no serf was allowed to kill one, because all game belonged to the lord.

At times the misery of the serfs became so great that they revolted and killed their lords. This resulted almost always in their speedy defeat and punishment; for all the fighting class would make common cause against the peasants. More frequently they fled into the woods to become brigands, or else sought new homes; for, in spite of the law, the serfs frequently left their land. The fear of losing his tenants, whose services he needed, was a great check upon the lord and prevented him from imposing as many burdens as he might otherwise have done.

Additional
hardships.

Revolts and
flight.

The more enlightened tried to attract new tenants and to keep those they already had by freeing them from some of the most burdensome obligations, especially by exchanging for a fixed payment the right to demand unlimited services. Lords who needed a large sum of money for a crusade or for some other unusual expense sold to their serfs the freedom from certain obligations. This custom spread, because to a certain extent landholders had to bid against each other for laborers. Moreover, emancipation was looked upon as a pious act, and many lords, especially upon their death-beds, freed a larger or smaller number. Serfs who became members of the clergy became free at the same time, and many rose to high positions; there are instances even of their becoming popes. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the worst features of serfdom had disappeared almost everywhere in France, and in many parts there were no serfs at all. The lot of the peasants continued to be hard, but gradually they all became freemen. In most of the other countries the serfs, sooner or later, obtained their freedom, and usually from the same general causes as in France. But in some countries their burdens were not removed altogether until the period of the French Revolution or even later.

The towns as well as the villages belonged to the nobles, and the inhabitants were their subjects.

The towns
and cities.

A town was an especially valuable piece of property and could be sold or given away at the owner's pleasure. In fact, it was only a larger village which had fortifications and was governed by special laws. A city was technically the residence of a bishop and belonged wholly or in part to the sief which he held. Sometimes a city or town was divided between two or more lords, each one owning a part.



ARMS OF PARIS.

The ownership was determined usually by the way in which the town had grown up. Some towns had existed from Roman times. Others had grown up about some center, a castle or a monastery, which offered protection and also a market for goods. For the growth of towns was due wholly to commerce and manufacturing, although these terms sound grandiloquent when applied to the petty barter and home industries of the early middle ages. Sometimes during the invasions or private wars a village erected fortifications and by favoring circumstances became a town. In such cases its rise was due to a favorable situation for commerce, to the security afforded by its walls, and lastly to the privileges granted by the lord who wished to profit by the added population. In other cases a town was deliberately founded by a lord in some part of his fief by the offer of special privileges to any who would settle there. Because of their hardships some of the peasants in the middle ages, especially in France, were constantly in motion, seeking to better their lot. Consequently new settlements arose rapidly; some still retain the name of *Ville-neuve* (new town) or *Villefranche* (free town).¹

Within the towns and cities there were houses everywhere, even on the walls. The streets were narrow, crooked, and unpaved. The buildings were crowded closely together, and each story projected somewhat beyond the one below, so that the upper stories almost met and overhung the streets. Within, the homes of the richer merchants vied in wealth and luxury with the castles of the nobles. At the back there were gardens filled with flowers, and the best rooms opened upon these gardens. Each shopkeeper hung out his sign with some device representing his trade, for few could read. At dawn the shutters were taken down, and the streets were filled with peo-

Growth of the towns.

The town life.

¹ Cf. Villafranca, Neustadt, Freiburg, etc.

ple. Venders of food and dealers in miscellaneous articles went about crying their wares. Fights between the apprentices of the different trades were frequent. Each industry had its own quarter, from which the workmen would sally forth to attack those of another quarter, or in which they would in turn barricade themselves. All day long the streets were the scenes of active life and varied tumult. At sunset the shops were closed, a little later the angelus¹ rang, and was followed by the curfew.²



SCENE IN A SHOP.

Soon after the last lights in the houses were extinguished, the watchman fastened the chains at the ends of each street, and the town slept.

Festivals were many, and were celebrated with a luxury which often surpassed the ostentation of the tournaments, for the French towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were very wealthy. The crusades had given a great impetus to trade and had put into active circulation the gold and silver which had been hoarded in the preceding centuries. The crusaders in the Holy Land needed supplies and equipments from the West. Large vessels, built to carry men and supplies to Syria, brought back the rich commodities of the East. The men who returned had acquired new tastes, and desired luxu-

Commerce.

¹ A bell rung as a signal for the saying of the prayers which were known from the opening word as the "Angelus."

² The bell rung, usually at nightfall, as a signal to cover the fires (*couvre-feu*) and retire for the night.

ries with which they had become acquainted in Syria. The Mediterranean ports were centers of active trade between the Orient and Occident. From these ports the goods were carried, mainly on the rivers, all over western Europe. The towns along the Rhone and the Rhine and on the seacoast in Flanders profited especially from this trade.

Fairs were established under the protection of the kings, nobles, or clergy. These were centers for exchanging the products of different parts of the same country or of different countries. They were held for a few days at a fixed time each year, under very strict regulations. The Lendit, near Paris, was one of the oldest and best known; it opened on the eleventh of June, and lasted a fortnight; each town in France had a place assigned to it on the grounds, where the merchants could display their wares. At the fairs of Champagne not only French merchants but also Italian and Flemish carried on a brisk business. In England there were, in the thirteenth century, fifty or more places at which important fairs were held; the most noted were Winchester, Stourbridge, St. Ives, and Boston.

In order to carry on this active trade the merchants required good roads, on which they could travel unmolested and in safety. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the roads were very bad, the bridges were few, and highwaymen were many. At the frontier of each fief it was necessary to pay for the privilege of entering or leaving. On the rivers tolls were heavy and robberies frequent. From the twelfth to the fourteenth century conditions improved. The lords found it to their advantage to make better highways, to build bridges, and to police the routes, since for these services they could demand heavy payment from the merchants. These charges also became fixed, and were no longer exacted at the pleasure of the lord. Thus traveling became comparatively safe and easy.

Internal
improvements.



BELFRY, BORDEAUX.

The merchants were able to accomplish these reforms, and also to gain influence in other matters, by forming associations. The individual was weak, but a large number united made a body which even the feudal lord found formidable. The advantages of such associations were perceived very early, and in each town the merchants joined in a gild to regulate and monopolize trade and to protect their common interests. These "merchant gilds" were able to obtain many privileges in exchange for money. Later the artisans in each industry banded together to form a craft-gild; but the latter did not become very important until the fourteenth century.

By their wealth and association the townsmen became powerful, and were able to obtain exemptions from many burdens. By usurpation, or by purchase, or during periods of political strife, they secured one privilege after another, until they were almost, and in some cases entirely, self-governing communities. At first they had attempted revolts, but the early ones were crushed with great cruelty. When the crusades began many lords were glad to raise money by selling privileges to the towns. In such cases sometimes a "commune" was formed, which was composed of a part of the inhabitants and acted as a single body, entering into a contract with the lord to pay a fixed amount in return for the rights which they desired. In other cases a charter was sold to the town, guaranteeing its inhabitants against all illegal exactions and granting to them certain privileges. During times of civil war the support and wealth of the citizens were desired by both parties, who vied with each other in offering privileges. Those towns which were owned by two or more masters were especially fortunate, as the interests of the owners were often conflicting, and resulted in concessions from both parties to win the support of the inhabitants.

Gilds.

How the towns
became free.

In Germany and Italy, where the central governments were weak, some of the cities became entirely free and very powerful. Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa obtained great possessions in different parts of the Mediterranean. Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck are still free cities and constituent parts of the German Empire. In France and England, on the other hand,

Results in the
different
countries.



MEDIEVAL PLAYTHING.

where the royal power was strong, the citizens obtained exemption from their burdens, but did not as communities become self-governing.

In the thirteenth century the wealthy merchants were no longer despised by the nobility. In the literature of the day they began to take a prominent place, and, in fact, a new literature, written especially for the citizens, began to appear. Individual merchants were appointed to office under Philip Augustus in France, and the advice of the citizens was often sought in enterprises for which their money would be needed. Early in the fourteenth century, both in France and in

The third
estate.

England, representative men were summoned to consult with the nobles and the clergy. From that time the Parliaments were composed of members of the "three estates,"¹ clergy, nobility, and commons.

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¹ Up to this time only the first two estates—the nobles and the clergy—had been recognized as having any importance.

CHAPTER XV

Schools and Universities

SUMMARY.—The teaching was done by the members of the clergy. In the early centuries it was confined to the *trivium*, the *quadrivium*, and theology. In the twelfth century certain centers, especially Paris, attracted students, so that education became more extensive and more general. Universities came into existence, and the students, as members of the clergy, received many and important privileges. The curriculum was broadened, and earnest students investigated many new branches of knowledge.

DURING the early middle ages teaching was done wholly by the clergy. In some of the towns and villages there were elementary schools taught by the parish priests. In the monasteries and cities there were schools, both elementary and advanced, under the charge of the abbots or bishops. Whatever learning there was north of the Alps was due to the labors of the Church.

It was formerly the custom to refer to the middle ages as the dark ages. From their own ignorance of the facts historians had thought that the medieval world was entirely steeped in ignorance and barbarism, that there was no learning even among the churchmen, and that all society was in a state of chaos. Now that the facts are known, the term "dark ages" has been abandoned, or, if used, is applied only to the time between the breaking up of the Roman Empire and the eleventh century or, still more narrowly, to the period of the invasions in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the

history of education in Christian Europe the latter was the darkest age. Charles the Great had been anxious to educate his subjects, and under his rule schools had been established in many monasteries and towns. Italian, English, and Scotch, as well as native scholars, were induced to become the teachers of the Franks. During the period of the invasions learning was maintained only in a few favorable localities. In the latter years of the tenth century, especially in Germany, there was a reawakening, and teaching in the monastery schools became more common. The influence of Cluny was very important. From this



NORMAN SCHOOL.

time greater attention was given to learning, and the schools increased in number and improved in quality.

Education was intended wholly for the service of the Church, and most of the students became members of the secular or regular clergy. This determined to a very great extent the character of the teaching. During the early middle ages all the studies were included in the "seven liberal arts" and theology. First came the *trivium*, or threefold way: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, or logic; then the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The trivium and quadrivium together made up the seven liberal arts.

Trivium and
quadrivium.

These studies were not taken up in any regular order, and the names of the various subjects do not indicate their contents. Grammar, for example, included the study of the Latin classics, with an explanation of their historical and mythological allusions. Under the subjects of the quadrivium were grouped all the fragments of knowledge concerning the natural sciences. Theology was the most important branch, and the study of the seven liberal arts was pursued partly as a preparation for the correct understanding of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the church fathers.

The teachers read the text-books to the pupils, who had none, and who were expected to commit everything to memory. When a scholar failed he was flogged; fortunately for his comfort, he was not expected to learn a great deal. In arithmetic the students were taught to keep simple accounts; in music, what was necessary for the church services; in geometry, a few problems; in astronomy, enough to calculate the date of Easter. It was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that these subjects were really studied seriously. Before that, when a boy had obtained a smattering of grammar and the quadrivium, he devoted himself, if he wished to study more, to theology or dialectics. Frequently he would travel from place to place to hear the most famous teachers.

In the early part of the twelfth century the brilliant teaching of Abelard attracted to Paris students from all the European countries. He had broken away from the traditions of the students of the tenth and eleventh centuries, who were apt to accept everything written as necessarily true, and insisted upon questioning the correctness of the information handed down by the earlier writers. This point of view was novel, and attracted auditors by hundreds. The pleasant life in the wealthy capital of France contributed greatly in drawing students from other parts of that country, and from

Methods of
teaching.

Prominence of
Paris.

Germany, England, and the northern lands. From this time Paris became the chief center of learning for all Europe. In the thirteenth century it was said that "France is the hearth where the intellectual bread of the whole world is baked."

Teachers also were attracted to the place where students congregated, for a teacher's income was derived from the fees paid by the pupils who chose to listen to him. The masters and students who were foreigners were obliged to band together for mutual protection and support, as they were not citizens, and consequently without the protection of the laws. In the frequent rows between students and citizens the former would naturally support one another. The king was very glad to have the scholars there on account of the added wealth which they brought to the capital, and because of the prestige which the great school conferred upon Paris. Consequently, when a serious fight occurred, in which five students were killed by the king's police and the students threatened to leave Paris in consequence, the king offered them special privileges if they would remain. It was in the year 1200, and this may be considered the date for the official recognition of the University of Paris, although there had been schools in existence for many years, and the university was never founded in the modern sense.

The word university was originally a collective term, and was applied indifferently to a learned corporation, a guild of artisans, a band of soldiers, or any other body of men. The restriction of it to a particular institution was an accident. What we call a university was called in the thirteenth century a *studium*, or *studium generale*; the addition of *generale* meant that students from different countries were in attendance.

What a university was.

A *studium generale* might or might not include schools of law, medicine, and theology; generally, there was at least one of these schools in addition to the fac-

ulty of arts. Sometimes the teachers or masters controlled the *studium*, as at Paris; sometimes the students were the governing body, as at Bologna, where they made regulations as to what studies should be taught, how fast the masters should lecture, and what the latter should wear.

The scholars at Paris were chiefly a body of men from other places, bound together by common interests, who would remain only as long as they found Paris attractive. Furthermore, they were either already members of the clergy or intended to become members later.¹ These facts determined the character of the privileges granted to the students. The king, in 1200, exempted them from trial in the royal courts or imprisonment in the royal prison, and gave them the privilege of being tried only by the ecclesiastical courts; he extended their privileges to the servants of the students, if the servants were not property-owners, or engaged in trade at Paris.

But the most important of all the privileges was the "right of migration." The university held no property; the lectures were delivered in hired buildings, so that it was very easy for the whole body of masters and students to decamp at a moment's notice. This they did frequently and on the slightest provocation. On the other hand, it was highly advantageous to a city to possess a *studium generale*. It was not only a cause of prestige but also a very considerable source of income. The universities realized their advantage, and exercised their right of suspending lectures to enforce their privileges. The course of events was usually the same. The students became involved in a riot, of which they were commonly the cause; the police were called out; some students were wounded or killed; the university decreed a cessation of lectures and threatened

¹ It is said that twenty of Abelard's pupils became cardinals, and more than fifty, bishops.

a migration. If their demands for redress were not promptly complied with they left the city. The final result in most cases was a full compliance with the students' demands, and frequently a payment of money or a grant of greater privileges to them. Probably, in a majority of cases, the scholars were the aggressors, but came out triumphant. Between 1188 and 1338, inclusive, twelve cessations and migrations from Bologna are recorded, and these resulted in the foundation of eight "permanent *studia generalia*" in other places. In fact, a migration was the most usual cause of the foundation of a new university.

Foreigners, who were natives of the same province, naturally associated together, and formed a club for social intercourse and self-protection, just as Americans studying in Europe do now. Gradually these associations became more definite, and spread until all the students were enrolled in the membership of some *province*. Provinces were grouped together into *nations*. Each of these had its own officers, money-chest, and seal. Likewise the

Organization of the universities. students and teachers of the same subjects naturally drew together, and

so the *faculties* of arts, medicine, law, and theology grew up. Each university had this twofold organization of faculties and nations; in some places, as has been said, the masters controlled these organizations; in others, the students. The faculty of arts was usually the most numerous and the most important.



SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.



REVERSE OF THE SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

The government of the University was modeled on that of the guilds. Masters who had the right to teach, corresponded to master-workmen; students corresponded to apprentices. As the latter had to work for a term of years and to prove their fitness before they became members of the guild, so the students must study for six years and pass an examination before they became masters in art. In theology, they had to study eight to fourteen years before they became masters. The scholars were of all ages, from boys of twelve to old men. The studies were extremely varied, "as the students always desired to hear something new." The required course for the degree of master of arts was composed of only a few subjects, and did not take all of a student's time for six years. Many who attended the universities never took a degree at all. Consequently there were always some desirous of taking subjects not included in the required course. Mathematics and the natural sciences attracted many students. The study of the classics was almost entirely abandoned at Paris in the thirteenth century.

In the early monastic schools the pupils had not been required to pay for their tuition, and as long as the teaching remained in the hands of the monks this continued to be the custom. But when masters began to earn their living by teaching, the students were required to pay. Some of the latter were so poor that they had to beg for their living. To provide for such, colleges were founded at the different universities. At first these were merely endowed lodging-houses, under the supervision of a resident master. Gradually it became the custom for the master to give instruction to the other resi-

The curricu-
lum.



SEAL OF A DOCTOR,
UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Colleges.

dents, until the colleges became the principal centers for teaching. Paris was the great home of the college system, and from there it spread under a somewhat changed form to the English and other universities; much later the colleges in this country were patterned after the English models.

In the thirteenth century Paris was the chief university north of the Alps, and was noted especially for its faculties of arts and theology. In Bologna, Italy, where a *studium generale* had grown up somewhat earlier than at Paris, law was the most prominent branch, and the city was thronged with students from all the European countries. The University of Oxford, although in existence earlier, became large and important only after 1229. Then, in consequence of a town and gown row, in which several of the students had been killed, the masters and scholars withdrew from Paris, and many of them went to Oxford, because the king of England had offered special inducements. In the same century other universities

Other universities.

were founded in Italy, France, Spain, and England. The earliest ones in Germany date from the fourteenth century. The number of students at the leading universities in the thirteenth century was very large; Paris and Bologna may have had 6,000 to 7,000 at the time of their greatest prosperity; Oxford 1,500 to 3,000.

The majority were boys in their teens or young men, who enjoyed special privileges and were under no restraint.

Drinking was a universal habit. Under these conditions it is no wonder that many led a disorderly life, and that in an age when fight-

Life of the students.

ing was such a common amusement rows were very frequent. The rich nobles brought armed retainers with them, and sometimes fights arose between the members of different nations. The amusements, also, were of a very rough form, characteristic of the age. Yet in the univer-

sities there was an intellectual life, a zest for knowledge which led to a rapid advance. Earnest scholars, like Roger Bacon, were investigating new fields and laying the foundations for the wonderful age which was to follow.

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CHAPTER XVI

The Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

SUMMARY.—In the thirteenth century the great authority of the Church was in the hands of the Pope, who was elected by the cardinals. He claimed authority over kings because he held that the Church was greater than the state. The Church had its own courts, which often came into conflict with the secular courts. There were many heretics whom the clergy believed it necessary to crush. The Albigensian crusade devastated southern France and led to the Inquisition. The inquisitors were chosen from the Mendicant Orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were noted for their zeal and piety and consequently obtained enormous powers.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Pope was far more powerful than any king. The authority of the Church was centralized in his hands. The agents of this authority were picked men from all ranks of society; for the members of the clergy were constantly seeking out the brightest boys—the sons of peasants as well as the sons of nobles—and educating them for the Church. The clergy were unmarried, and had no family cares; they were free from all necessity of making provision for their daily needs. Consequently, they were able to devote all their time and all their energies to the service of the Church, and as they worked with a unity of purpose their power was irresistible. The concentration of this power in the hands of the Pope had been a gradual development of the preceding centuries.

The election of the popes themselves, until the middle of the eleventh century, had been to a great degree in

the hands of the emperors when the latter were powerful in Italy. As the Church gained in power its rulers felt that it was absolutely necessary for their chief to be elected only by the members of the Church, and to be free from the emperor's control. By the electoral decree of 1059 the power of election was lodged almost wholly in the cardinals.

These were certain bishops, priests, and deacons, who were connected with the churches of Rome or its suburbs.

The cardinals. They were the most important members of the clergy in Rome, and the chief councilors of the Pope. When and how their title originated is a matter of uncertainty, but since the age of Hildebrand their importance has been very great. The number varied ; in the twelfth century there were usually 7 cardinal-bishops bearing the titles of the suburban churches¹ of Rome, 28 cardinal-priests, who represented the most important churches in Rome, and 18 cardinal-deacons for the different sections of the city.

The earlier popes had sent out legates occasionally to represent them, and to act in their place where they were not able to go in person. Gregory VII made a practise of sending legates to represent the papal power in every section of western Europe. These legates presided at councils, corrected abuses, and kept the Pope in close touch with every portion of the Church. Cardinals were frequently employed as legates. In this way the Pope and the cardinals obtained a more direct supervision over the whole Church, and were able to exercise political influence in every European court. It is not easy to exaggerate the practical importance of this in an age when communication was slow and uncertain.

The popes confirmed the elections of archbishops and

¹ Ostia, Porto, Santa Rufina or Silva Candida, Albano. Sabina, Tusculum, and Palestrina.

bishops. They determined upon the canonization of saints and the authenticity of relics; in every case an inquest was held to determine whether the person proposed was worthy of the honor of being numbered among the saints, or whether the relic was really what it was said to be. They had the right to grant dispensations, or licenses, by which a person was allowed to do something which was contrary to the strict letter of the law; for example, they could release a person from an oath which he had taken, or could allow him to marry one of his cousins. They could exempt individual monasteries and monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops. They



THIRTEENTH CENTURY CHESSMAN.

Control over
the Church.

convoked general councils of

the Church and confirmed their canons. In particular, any matter, which concerned the Church in any way, could be brought before the Pope by an appeal for his decision. Strictly speaking, his jurisdiction was confined to spiritual matters under what is known as the canon law, but the temporal powers of the Church were so large that the distinction between spiritual and temporal things was difficult, and the Church claimed the right to define it. Thus, all questions arising from marriage and testaments became subject to the spiritual courts of the bishops, and from these appeals could be carried to the Holy See. As the Pope also enjoyed original jurisdiction, it can readily be seen how immense was the business flowing into Rome, how large were the revenues thence accruing, and how

directly the papal authority was brought to bear upon the people even to the most remote sections of Europe.

The Pope thus was the ultimate arbiter not only in the field of morals and of faith, but also in many departments of law. His jurisdiction extended from the cottage to the throne, for kings were Christians, and as such were as fully responsible to the Church for their conduct as the humblest of their subjects. If a monarch committed a grievous sin and refused to make amends, the Church, acting through the Pope, felt it necessary to punish him. Several rulers were excommunicated for murder or for gross immorality. If they remained obdurate the excommunication was extended to an interdict, or suspension of divine services throughout the land, in order that the subject people who suffered might bring pressure to bear upon their ruler and force him to make amends. Sometimes the Pope released the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, or declared a king deposed for resistance to his commands.

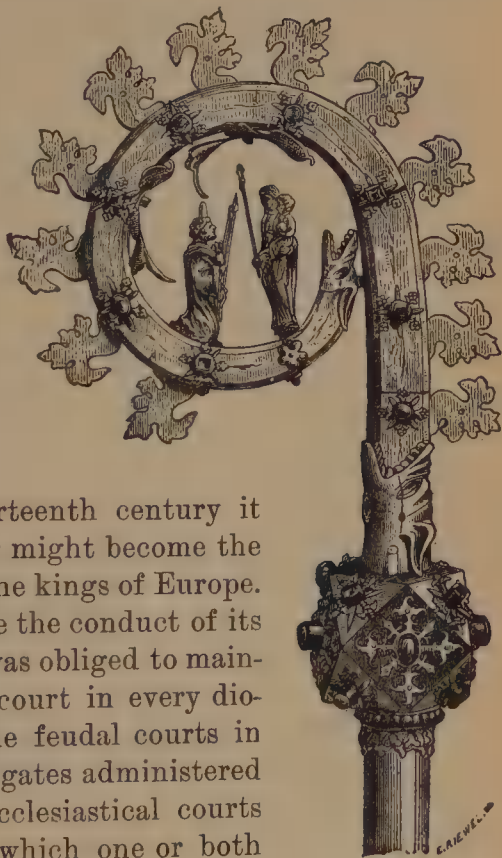
Such actions did not meet with universal approval; for many felt this to be an intrusion by the Church upon the rights of the state. The deposition of Henry IV by Gregory VII, and of Frederick II by Innocent IV, aroused bitter opposition, as their followers held that Henry and Frederick were kings by the grace of God and by the choice of the German people; although they might justly be punished for their sins, the popes had no control over their power as kings. The popes and their followers, on the other hand, insisted that the deposition was a necessary measure of discipline, because the kings were unrepentant, and the Church was supreme. They proclaimed that the monarchs who ruled only over earthly dominions and the bodies of men were subordinate to the papacy, which had been given the keys of heaven and the control over the souls of men. They held that the Pope was as the sun, and the kings as

Power of the
Pope over lay
princes.

Theory that
the Church
was greater
than the state.

the moon, which shone only by the light reflected from the sun. Using the feudal idea, that a king held his kingdom as a fief from God, they proclaimed that the Pope, as the representative of God, could bestow or take away any kingdom. Some kings were willing, some were forced, to admit this theory. King John of England, Peter II of Aragon, Sancho I of Portugal, and other monarchs, acknowledged themselves to be vassals of the Pope. At times during the thirteenth century it seemed as if the latter might become the suzerain of almost all the kings of Europe.

In order to regulate the conduct of its members the Church was obliged to maintain an ecclesiastical court in every diocese in addition to the feudal courts in which the bishops' delegates administered feudal law. In the ecclesiastical courts were tried all suits in which one or both of the parties were members of the clergy; as such they had the right to be tried only by these courts. This was granted as a privilege to all who had taken a vow to go on a crusade, and to students at the universities. Besides having jurisdiction over certain persons, the ecclesiastical courts tried certain classes of crime. All matters relative to the Christian faith, the church sacraments, or vows which had been taken; all crimes committed in holy places; all vio-



CROZIER OF THE
THIRTEENTH
CENTURY.

lations of the Truce of God or of laws enacted by the Church—either were or might be brought into these courts. For

Ecclesiastical courts. this reason heresy, questions relating to marriage and divorce—for marriage was a sacrament—all transactions which had been accompanied by an oath, and many other classes of cases, were tried by the bishops' officials. In fact, there were comparatively few cases which could not be brought within the competence of an ecclesiastical court by a liberal interpretation of its jurisdiction. For example, the Church had prohibited the payment of interest when money was borrowed; consequently, any business transaction involving a loan might be brought before this court.

Frequently a case might, with equal right, be tried either in a royal or baronial court or in an ecclesiastical court;

Conflict with the secular courts. for a matter of strictly secular business might have been ratified by an oath. It was to the interest of the king and the barons that all such cases should be tried in their own courts, because the judicial fines and payments constituted a considerable part of their income. Frequently one or both of the litigants preferred to carry the case before the bishop's court, partly because the law was thought to be administered more intelligently, and partly because the ecclesiastical penalties for many crimes were less severe. In the civil courts death and the mutilation of limbs were common punishments; the ecclesiastical courts were forbidden to inflict any penalty which would cause the shedding of blood. Up to the middle of the twelfth century there had been little or no conflict between the two kinds of courts, which had often been of mutual aid. From that time, however, the lay powers became jealous of what they considered encroachments on their rights. The great conflict¹ in England between Henry II and Thomas Becket was due mainly to this cause.

¹ See Chap. XIX.



CATHEDRAL, PISA.

The law administered in the ecclesiastical courts was the canon law or the law of the Church. Its chief sources were custom or unwritten law, the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the church fathers, the canons passed by church councils, and the decretals of the popes. About the middle of the twelfth century all the existing laws were codified by Gratian in the *Decretum*. The work was so well done and so convenient that, although it had at first no official sanction, it soon became recognized as the authoritative collection of the canon law. New laws were being made constantly by papal decretals to meet new cases. From time to time collections of these were made and added to the *Decretum* to form the *corpus* or body of canon law.

The great increase in power was not obtained without opposition. The monastic ideals of the age led some to object to the wealth and authority of the Church, and to urge that it ought to return to apostolic simplicity and poverty. The crusades had made men acquainted with other religions, and had aroused a thirst for knowledge which caused some to question even the teachings of the Church. The connection with the East had brought in many new ideas, some of which were directly opposed to the established doctrines. Consequently the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise of many heretics, who may be grouped under two heads: Antisacerdotalists and Manicheans.

From time to time men came forward teaching that it was not necessary to obey the clergy. They held very divergent points of view, but they may be classed together as antisacerdotalists; and in their development they became known to history as the Poor Men of Lyons or Waldenses, finally merging with the Protestants during the Reformation. The Manicheans, on the other hand, held the Oriental idea of two powers, one of evil and the other of good, who were in

Canon law.

Rise of heresies.

Two classes of heretics.

eternal warfare, and that the material universe had been created by the principle of evil. They were widely spread over southern Europe, and although divided into sects of slightly varying beliefs, they classed themselves under the common name of Cathari or the Pure. To the orthodox they were known by many designations, of which the most usual one was Patarins, while in southern France, where they were very numerous, they were called Albigenses. It is superfluous to say that they denied all authority to the Church.

The time when these heresies were spreading most rapidly was a period when Christian Europe as a whole felt the need of union against common foes. Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin, and the

Need of crushing heresy.

Church was doing all in its power to arouse zeal for crusades to recover the holy city. In Spain the invasion of the Almohades threatened to crush the rising Christian kingdoms. In the northeast of Germany and elsewhere the Christians were struggling against the pagans. The heretics were very numerous, and had obtained control over some cities in Italy, while in southern France they had become powerful enough to obtain virtual toleration from the feudal lords. They refused to pay the tithes to the clergy or to recognize their authority, and were a menace to the temporal power which the Church was rapidly acquiring. A Cistercian wrote that if they were not crushed they would soon extend over all Europe. They were included with the Arians, Mohammedans, Jews, pagans, and German emperors as the chief persecutors of Christianity. The Church recognized that if they were not subdued the time was at hand when there would be a struggle on equal terms. Members of the clergy who were engaged in combating the heresies might bear witness to the excellent morals of the heretics, but duty to the faith required that the heresy should be exterminated. Ideas of entire religious toleration did not exist in the Christian

world until several centuries later, and then arose only in the new world, with Roger Williams in Rhode Island, among the Roman Catholics in Maryland, and among the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

In Languedoc¹ the heretics formed a large portion of the population, and were supported by many of the nobility. Missionary labors in conversion and efforts to stimulate the rulers to persecution proved

The Albigensian crusade.

equally fruitless. In 1208 the papal legate was

murdered by a squire of the count of Toulouse, who had been for several years under sentence of excommunication. This caused intense excitement, and led to immediate action. Innocent III renewed the excommunication, released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, and summoned all Christians to pursue the count and to seize his dominion. In July, 1209, an army of 50,000 men, led by the papal legate, marched against the heretics, who were put to death in great numbers, and towns were burned. Simon de Montfort was made the leader, and succeeded in conquering the greater part of Languedoc. He was killed in 1218, and his son was unable to hold his conquests. King Philip Augustus sent his son Louis to aid. This expedition was marked by great cruelty. In one town all the inhabitants—5,000 men, women, and children—were slaughtered in cold blood. The crusade had now become only a political war to extend the domination of the crown over the great feudatories of the south, for whose subjugation the existence of the heretics served as an excuse. The son of Simon de Montfort resigned his rights to Louis VIII of France, who, in 1226, made a triumphal expedition and took possession of almost the whole of Languedoc without serious opposition. After his death the war dragged on until 1229, when Raymond,

¹ Languedoc, the part of southern France which lay between the Garonne and the Rhone, where the people used *oc* for *yes*. In the north *oïl* was used for *yes*. Hence the two parts were distinguished as *Languedoc* and *Langued'oc*, or the speech of *oc* and the speech of *oïl*.

count of Toulouse, submitted and abandoned most of his territory to the Crown.

Although heresy had been crushed in Toulouse by violence, it had not been extirpated. In Italy heretics were extremely numerous. The emperor, Frederick II, in various edicts between 1220 and 1239, ordered that any one of his subjects who had been convicted of heresy by the church officials should be burned and his property be confiscated. This gradually became the law in other countries. Gradually, also, the Church developed an effective system for detection of heresy by the Inquisition. Suspected persons might be tortured in order to extract from them a confession of their guilt. Those who were convicted of heresy and remained obdurate were handed over to the secular powers, and were burned by the latter. Those who professed repentance and conversion were penanced by imprisonment for life, or by scourging or pilgrimages, or by wearing red crosses upon their garments. The proceedings of the Inquisition were secret, and consequently caused great terror to all in any way involved in heresy. The property of heretics was confiscated by the kings, who were therefore interested in maintaining the Inquisition. It was felt to be necessary that the inquisitors, who were given great power, and were responsible only to the Pope, should be impartial, learned, and free from all suspicion of avarice or motives of revenge, and as the best means of attaining this they were usually selected from the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans.

St. Dominic, from whom the Dominicans take their name, was born in 1170, and after studying theology devoted himself to the conversion of the heretics in Languedoc. He was earnest and zealous in his work and winning in his manner. In 1214 he gathered about him a few followers who gave themselves up to preaching and combating false doctrine. In 1215 they



CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS, ASSISI.

received papal sanction and adopted the rule of Augustinian Canons. Their purpose was to fit themselves by the study of theology for the task of preaching, and they were called "preaching friars." In 1217 the sixteen brethren who had joined St. Dominic were sent out to preach in Spain, France, and Italy. They were received with great enthusiasm, and many hastened to join the order. By 1221, sixty convents had been established in Spain, France, Italy, England, Germany, and Hungary, and the members were winning universal respect by their learning and piety. From this time the order was of the greatest assistance in preaching the faith and in combating heresy.

Francis of Assisi was born in 1182, and in his twentieth year devoted his life to poverty and the service of others.

He was humble, patient, merciful, and always cheerful. Love for his fellow men, especially the poor and suffering, was his most marked characteristic. Gradually a few others joined him, for whom he framed a rule requiring absolute poverty, and ordering the brethren to work for their own living, to go about on foot, and to preach the faith. The order was sanctioned by the Pope in 1215, and increased so rapidly in membership that in 1221 it already included thousands. The Franciscans, or Minorites, devoted themselves especially to the care of the sick and the tending of lepers. They won great love and respect, and by their preaching led thousands to repentance. In an age of brutality and violence they exemplified the Christian virtues of humility, patience, love, mercy, and devotion to others. They sought to proselyte Mohammedans and pagans, and braved every danger in their missionary work. Francis himself went to Syria to the sultan of Babylon. His followers and the Dominicans vied with one another in their efforts to convert the infidels everywhere.

In fact, the members of these two orders wandered about on foot, enduring the most extreme privations, intent

only upon serving their fellow men. This example was contagious, so that everywhere they went men and women wished to abandon all to enter the mendicant orders. In order to enroll these laymen in active service, St. Francis formed an organization known as "The Brothers and Sisters of Penitence," whose members were to continue their usual pursuits and to lead a holy life. It was called generally the Tertiary Order of Minorites, or Franciscans. Dominic founded a similar order under the name of "The Soldiery of Christ." All of the mendicants were active agents of the papacy, and were employed constantly on papal business in every country of Europe. Unfortunately, the unbounded reverence of the people conferred on the mendicants enormous wealth; the precepts of the founders were neglected by some of the brethren, and corruption crept in, as it had done in the older orders. Yet, in the thirteenth century, the men who were most noted both for their intellectual supremacy and zealous piety were, with few exceptions, members of the mendicant orders.

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POPES, 1124-1303

Honorius II, 1124-1130.

Innocent II, 1130-1143.

Celestine II, 1143-1144.

Lucius II, 1144-1145.

Eugene III, 1145-1153.

Anastasius IV, 1153-1154.

Hadrian IV, 1154-1159.

Alexander III, 1159-1181.

Lucius III, 1181-1185.

Urban III, 1185-1187.

Gregory VIII, 1187.

Clement III, 1187-1191.

Celestine III, 1191-1198.

Innocent III, 1198-1216.

Honorius III, 1216-1227.

Gregory IX, 1227-1241,

Celestine IV, 1241.

Innocent IV, 1243-1254.

Alexander IV, 1254-1261.

Urban IV, 1261-1264.

Clement IV, 1265-1268.

Gregory X, 1271-1276.

Innocent V, 1276.

Hadrian V, 1276.

John XXI, 1276-1277.

Nicholas III, 1277-1280.

Martin IV, 1281-1285.

Honorius IV, 1285-1287.

Nicholas IV, 1288-1292.

Celestine V, 1294.

Boniface VIII, 1294-1303.

GROWTH OF THE NATIONS

SUMMARY.—During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the German Empire attained its period of greatest glory. But its strength was sapped by the unwillingness of the electors to choose a strong man, or to recognize the right of hereditary succession. The long struggle between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the Hohenstaufen policy of buying support by bartering away imperial rights, the opposition of the papacy, and the rebellions of the Lombard League, deprived the empire of all real authority. In the latter half of the thirteenth century Germany became divided into many states, and remained disunited until the last third of the nineteenth century. In northern Italy the cities, freed from all imperial control, developed into republics. The Swiss cantons succeeded in emancipating themselves from the duke of Swabia's authority and established the Swiss Confederation. Along the Baltic Sea the German cities formed the Hanseatic League and built up a great commercial and political supremacy, while the Teutonic Order was engaged in a crusade which resulted in the foundation of Prussia.

SUMMARY.—At the beginning of the thirteenth century the French kings had little power or territory; two hundred years later they were absolute monarchs of France. They had succeeded in bringing the various fiefs under their direct control and in substituting monarchical institutions for feudal usages. In doing so, they had been aided by the development of a recognition that the kingship was hereditary, and by assistance from the third estate. They established royal courts which superseded the baronial, and a national system of finance which freed them from dependence upon feudal contributions. They took advantage of the misfortunes of their vassals to obtain Languedoc and almost all the English possessions in France. The just rule of St. Louis and the political ability of Philip the Fair made France the leading country in Europe. Under the latter king the States General was organized.

SUMMARY.—In England the authority of the king was greatly diminished during this period. Almost all the possessions in France were lost, and the only permanent addition of territory in Great Britain was Wales. During the period of anarchy, when Stephen was king, the Church became very powerful. Henry II attempted to submit it to the royal authority, but was hindered by the murder of Thomas Becket. John became a papal vassal, and Henry III was very subservient, but

Edward I began the long series of royal enactments directed toward the restriction of the power of the Pope, which culminated in the establishment of the English Church. In political matters the authority of the king, which was built up by Henry II, was diminished under John and Henry III. The barons and citizens, by joining together, compelled the monarch to consult their wishes. Under Edward I the Model Parliament was assembled, and it was agreed that the king could levy no general tax without authorization from Parliament.

SUMMARY.—In Spain the small Christian states were gradually consolidated into the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. The territory held by the Moors was slowly conquered, and in 1492 Granada, their last possession, fell into the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. The

Byzantine Empire became very weak, so that it was easily conquered by the crusaders in 1204. But the empire which they established soon succumbed to the Greeks, and the latter, after an inglorious rule of two centuries, were conquered by the Ottoman Turks. Russia was weakened by internal discord, so that it made no united resistance to the Tartars who overran the country in the thirteenth century. From that time it was for some centuries shut off from intercourse with Europe. The Scandinavian countries, too, failed to establish strong states. The Finns conquered Hungary, which became their home. In Bohemia the Slavs founded a successful kingdom, which soon came under German influence, but in Poland they fell a prey to anarchy.

CHAPTER XVII

Germany and Italy

AFTER the disintegration of the Carolingian empire western Europe was divided into many fragments, ruled by feudal lords. In each country there was a king who was nominally the suzerain; but his real power depended almost entirely upon his immediate feudal possessions, and these were seldom large enough to furnish him with a strong army or a sufficient income. The work of centralization, which he was not able to accomplish, was undertaken by the clergy. As education was wholly in their control, Latin, the language of the Church, became the language of all educated persons. All books and all legal documents were written in Latin. Furthermore, the civilization which resulted from the interaction of feudal usages and clerical influence was remarkably uniform in the different countries. Institutions like the Truce of God found favor among the different nations, and a general movement like the first crusade was possible.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the power of the feudal barons was undermined by the growing importance of the monarchs on the one hand, and by the rise of the third estate on the other. The influence of the Church was shaken by the influx of new ideas and by the political contests waged between the popes and kings. Education became more common, and literatures in the vernacular were developed. The modern nations began to take shape. In each one of the leading countries the same forces were at

Civilization,
tenth and elev-
enth centuries.

Changes in the
twelfth and
thirteenth
centuries.

work and the elements were the same, but because of differences in the local conditions the results varied greatly; and these results determined the future course of events, as will be apparent in the sequel to this work.

In spite of the troubles of the Investiture Struggle, Germany seemed farthest advanced and the strongest of the nations. Moreover, under the able rulers of the Hohenstaufen house, the empire attained its greatest glory and its widest influence, so that it seemed destined to include all Christian countries. But this glory was only transient, and Germany, weighed down by the burden of Italy—a veritable old man of the sea—wasted her strength and resources in chimerical projects. After the extirpation of the Hohenstaufen family the two countries lost all semblance of unity. They were divided into many fragments, each one practically independent and constantly at war with its neighbors. Individual cities and lords became famous, and a remarkable civilization was developed in certain centers; but Germany and Italy did not become nations until the last half of the nineteenth century. In order to explain the causes of the transient strength of the empire and of its ruin in the thirteenth century, it is necessary to study the careers of some of the rulers.

When Henry V died, in 1125, leaving no son, the two most prominent candidates for the crown were Frederick of the Hohenstaufen family, duke of Swabia, and Lothair, duke of Saxony. The first was the nephew of Henry, and had been designated by him as his successor. His election seemed assured, as his brother Conrad was duke of Franconia, and his father-in-law, a member of the Guelf family, was duke of Bavaria. It was therefore probable that he would have the support of three out of the four great races of Germany. But the lesser nobles had secured much power during the Investiture Struggle, when the kings had been obliged to buy their

Results in
Germany and
Italy.

Opposition to
hereditary
kingship.

support by concessions, and now they desired to assert that the monarchy was elective and not hereditary. The leading members of the clergy were opposed to Frederick, because he had supported Henry V in the latter's struggle with the Pope. The duke of Bavaria was induced to abandon his son-in-law, and all the elements of opposition joined in the election of Lothair (1125-1137), who had been the chief opponent of Henry V. The marriage of Lothair's daughter with the duke of Bavaria's son increased the power of the Guelf family.

Frederick the Hohenstaufen was the heir of his uncle, Henry V, and held all the latter's possessions. Lothair demanded the resignation of some fiefs which Guelfs and Ghibellines, he claimed as royal property. From this time the Guelfs and Hohenstaufens were engaged in intermittent strife until the extinction of the latter family. The Hohenstaufens were known as Ghibellines¹—an Italian name formed from the German Waiblingen, a Hohenstaufen possession. Conrad, the brother of Frederick the Hohenstaufen, was elected as anti-king in Italy, but had little real power, and after some years, yielding to the eloquence of Bernard of Clairvaux, was reconciled to Lothair.

On the death of the latter, his son-in-law, the Guelf Henry, became duke of Saxony as well as of Bavaria, and expected to be elected king. The same jealousy on the part of the lesser nobles which Election of Conrad, had caused the election of Lothair, now caused the rejection of Henry, whose excessive power was feared. The opponents of strong government favored the Hohenstaufen Conrad, who became king.

¹ The names of Guelf and Ghibelline were soon adopted as designations for the papal and imperial partizans respectively. Transplanted into Italy, they were used later to designate party factions in the different cities, without much regard to their former meaning.

His nephew, Frederick I, in whom the Ghibelline and Guelf stocks combined,¹ had shown great ability as duke of Swabia, and when Conrad died was the choice of all parties. His subjects admired his beauty and trusted in his virtues. With intense zeal he undertook "to reestablish the Roman Empire on its ancient basis." His hero was Charles the Great, whose canonization he secured from an anti-pope, and he intended to exercise all the rights ever possessed by Roman emperors. He believed fully in the maxim that "the will of the emperor has the force of law." The imperial prerogatives which had been lost through the weakness of the preceding kings he intended to exercise in every portion of the empire. Under him the "Roman Empire of the German Nation" regained its prestige, and became known as the "Holy Roman Empire." Most of his long reign, however, was spent in unsuccessful attempts to reduce his Italian subjects to obedience.

For a century the German monarchs had been either too weak or too fully occupied elsewhere to govern Italy effectively. In the north the Lombard cities had become



STATUE OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

¹ See genealogical table.

² His Italian nickname, because of his red beard.



almost independent. In the south the Normans had built up a strong kingdom, which they held as vassals of the Pope, and not of the emperor. In Rome the nobles had set up a commune under the direction of Arnold of Brescia, and the Pope was a fugitive from his capital. It was necessary for Frederick to assert his rights vigorously and without delay, if he wished to retain Italy as a part of his empire.

Position of
Italy.

His first expedition to Italy, in 1154-55, was undertaken to aid the Pope to secure Rome, and to obtain the imperial crown for himself. He was crowned King of Italy at Pavia, and Emperor at Rome; Arnold of Brescia was seized and burned at the stake;

Frederick and
the popes.

but the emperor was forced to retreat hurriedly, as his army was suffering from diseases caused by the intense heat. Furthermore, Frederick and the Pope had disagreed, because the former was not willing to take the same subordinate position with regard to the papacy that his immediate predecessors had done. A little later the Pope, Adrian IV, in writing to Frederick, referred to the *beneficia* which he had bestowed upon the latter. This term in feudal usage meant benefices or fiefs, and was so translated by the German chancellor. Frederick was indignant, as he interpreted the phrase to mean that the Pope considered the empire a fief of the papacy. An open conflict was avoided, as the Pope explained that he had used the word merely in its general meaning of "benefits." But the incident increased the latent hostility between the two powers, and showed that Frederick was not willing to recognize the Pope as his superior.

On his second Italian expedition, in 1158, Frederick held a great diet on the Roncalian plain,¹ at which representatives of all the Lombard cities were present. Overawed by the emperor's power, the cities submitted to his

¹ East of Piacenza, Italy.

demands. He claimed all the imperial rights of government and taxation which had been usurped by the cities ;
 Frederick and the Lombard cities. prohibited private wars between the latter, and appointed an official called "*podestà*" in each city to represent the imperial authority and to administer justice. Frederick's purpose was to destroy the independence of the cities and to subject them to his own power. Milan refused to receive his *podestà*, was conquered by him after a two years' siege, and was destroyed (1162) by the inhabitants of the neighboring cities who, jealous of its prosperity, had aided the emperor. Frederick hoped that the fate of Milan would crush all opposition.

In the meantime Adrian had died and Alexander III became Pope. As the emperor's supporters knew that Alexander would oppose their policy, they chose
 The Lombard League. an anti-pope. Alexander excommunicated Frederick, made an alliance with the Lombard cities, and encouraged them to form a defensive league against the emperor. Thus far the cities had been weak because they had been disunited, and some had been glad to see the ruin of rivals, even when it entailed a loss of liberty on their own part. But the emperor's policy was so impartial, subjugating both friendly and hostile cities to his authority, that almost all were ready to unite against him. In 1167 he led an enormous army into Italy and captured Rome; but this army was almost destroyed by the plague, and he had difficulty in getting back safely. This disaster encouraged his opponents, so that in 1168 almost all the cities joined in the Lombard League.

For some years Frederick was occupied in Germany. Milan was rebuilt, and regained its power. In 1176 the emperor attempted to conquer it again, and
 The defeat of Frederick. was defeated in the battle of Legnano. He realized that further efforts would be fruitless, and made peace with the Pope and the cities, recognizing the right of the latter to self-government in almost all matters,

although they still paid taxes to him and he retained a shadowy overlordship. From this time the Lombard cities were practically independent.

The emperor's absorption in his Italian difficulties had enabled the Guelf party to build up a strong power in northern Germany under the leadership of Henry the Lion. The latter consolidated all the Guelf possessions, and also followed the traditional policy of the Saxon dukes in extending his dominion over the lands to the north and east. The heathen inhabitants were converted; towns founded, of which Lübeck was the most important; and bishoprics were established. At first Frederick and Henry had been on good terms, but the latter refused to help Frederick in his campaigns against the Lombard League. After the emperor had made peace with the Lombards he determined to humble Henry, whose power in Germany was almost as great as his own. A pretext was furnished by the complaints of Saxon bishops, who accused Henry of usurping their possessions. The latter, refusing to obey the imperial summons for a trial, was banished and his duchies confiscated. By granting concessions to the lesser nobles in Henry's fief the emperor won sufficient support to conquer Saxony, and Henry was forced to submit (1181). He was banished for three years, and lost all his possessions except Brunswick and Lüneburg. Bavaria was given to the Wittelsbach family, which has held it ever since, and his other lands were divided. Thus the danger of the separation of Germany into two kingdoms, a northern and a southern, was averted.

In spite of his defeat in Italy, Frederick had succeeded in reviving the glory of the empire, and had established order in Germany. By his marriage with the heiress of upper Burgundy he became king of that country. He forced the king of Bohemia to acknowledge him as overlord (1158). He negotiated the marriage of his heir, Henry, with the heiress of the king of Sicily

Frederick and
Germany.

Frederick's
power as
emperor.



HENRY THE LION.



MATILDA, WIFE OF HENRY THE LION.

(From their tombs in the Cathedral of Brunswick.) ■

in order to unite southern Italy and Sicily to the empire. He drew vast resources from his own ducal dominions and from the Italian cities. By concessions in favor of the lesser German nobles, he obtained their support and was able to raise great armies. His power was so firmly established that he felt safe in leaving Germany for the crusade, during which he died (1190).

His eldest son Henry succeeded him without opposition and added the kingdom of Sicily to his dominions in 1194.

As the Lombard cities, freed from direct imperial control, were again engaged in warfare with one another, the emperor used one party against the other and secured money from both. Richard the Lion-hearted of England, who had fallen into captivity in Germany on his return from the crusade, was retained until he became the vassal of the emperor and paid an enormous ransom. Henry, dreaming of universal dominion, was preparing for a crusade to subjugate the East, when a sudden illness caused his death.

Henry's son Frederick had been crowned king, but was only three years old when his father died; consequently his claims were set aside. His uncle Philip¹ was chosen by the Ghibelline party; Otto IV, son of Henry the Lion, by the Guelfs. For ten years Germany was devastated by a war between the rival claimants, in which the nobles became virtually independent. Philip was murdered in 1108. Otto, who had been supported by the Pope, was then recognized by all as sovereign. As emperor he soon became hostile to the Pope, who set up a rival king in the person of Frederick, son of Henry VI.

The latter, as king of Sicily, had been under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His childhood had been spent in the midst of war, and his kingdom had been preserved

¹ He styled himself Philip II because Philip the Arabian, the third-century Roman emperor, had been Philip I.

only by the zealous care of the Pope. Now Innocent, after compelling him to take an oath never to unite the kingdoms of Sicily and Germany, secured his election by the German nobles who were opposed to Otto. The hopes of the latter were crushed by the battle of Bouvines,¹ where he and his uncle John of England were defeated by Philip Augustus and the partisans of Frederick. The deaths of both Otto and Innocent secured the kingdom for Frederick and left him free.

In spite of his oath, he felt it necessary to keep both Sicily and Germany. If Innocent had lived, he would not have been able to do this without serious opposition. Innocent's successor, influenced by Frederick's vow to go on a crusade and his fair promises, made no objection to crowning him emperor and allowing him to retain Sicily. Frederick's policy was to draw money from Sicily and soldiers from Germany to maintain his imperial position. He organized in his southern kingdom a strong centralized government in place of the former feudal administration. He encouraged commerce, granted toleration to Mohammedans and Jews, established the University of Naples, and published a new code of laws more modern in spirit than any pre-

Frederick II,
1212-1250.

Frederick and
Sicily.



SEAL OF THE WIDOW OF OTTO IV.

encouraged commerce, granted toleration to Mohammedans and Jews, established the University of Naples, and published a new code of laws more modern in spirit than any pre-

¹ See page 211.

ceding code. The country prospered under his strict rule, and literature and the arts flourished under his patronage.

In Germany he followed the traditional Hohenstaufen policy of buying support by granting privileges to the nobles, and thus weakened the central government. In the last years of his reign he gave charters to the more important cities also, in order to secure their assistance against the anti-kings who were elected by his opponents. As a whole, he was little interested in Germany, and made it entirely subordinate to his Italian projects. Consequently he allowed his adherents almost entire independence on their German fiefs as long as they furnished him aid when demanded. Whatever unity Germany had secured under the Franconian emperors was lost under the Hohenstaufens, and the country became divided into many separate units, some of which were duchies or counties, some bishoprics, and some free cities.

Frederick II
and Germany.

In order to arrange matters in his two kingdoms, Frederick postponed his crusade repeatedly. The Pope tried to make him fulfil his vow and threatened excommunication; but he secured delays by reassuring promises and by representing the need of his presence in the West. When the pacific Honorius was succeeded by Gregory IX, the emperor found it necessary to embark for Syria in order to avoid excommunication. Within a few days he turned back on account of illness, as he alleged. Gregory at once excommunicated him, and when he did set out again, renewed the ban because he had undertaken a crusade while excommunicated. The Pope also sent an army to invade Sicily. When Frederick returned, he drove out the papal troops and succeeded in making his peace with the Pope.

Frederick's
crusade.

His power was increasing rapidly, and was a menace to both the Pope and the Lombard cities, whose dominions were surrounded by his German and Italian possessions. The latter, fearing that he might attempt to destroy their

independence, renewed the Lombard League and showed themselves openly hostile to him. Frederick attacked them with an army composed of Swabian knights, and Mohammedan horsemen from his Sicilian kingdom, inflicted a crushing defeat at Cortenuova, in 1237, and organized a strong government in northern Italy.

All Italy, except the papal states, was now in his power, and it seemed evident that he would soon attack these.

Gregory viewed the emperor's triumph with alarm, and when Frederick refused to give up Sardinia, which was claimed as a papal fief, placed him under excommunication and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Frederick retorted by conquering most of the papal territory. The death of Gregory, in 1241, caused a truce. During these years Frederick attempted to establish in his dominions a national church of which he, and not the Pope, should be the head. His plan was somewhat similar to that followed later by Henry VIII of England. Pope Innocent IV renewed the excommunication, in 1245, and caused an anti-king to be elected in Germany.

Frederick and his son Conrad were successful in Germany. The real danger was in Italy, where the Lombard cities again took the offensive and won a great victory. Frederick met with other reverses, and even in the kingdom of Sicily his despotism caused conspiracies to be formed. In the midst of his struggles he was taken ill and died.

Frederick was called "the wonder of the world." He had been carefully educated, and delighted in the society of learned men. He was versed in many languages, and was regarded by Dante as the father of Italian poetry. He was fond of natural history, and composed a treatise on falconry which shows his intimate knowledge of the subject. He was a free-thinker,

Frederick II
and the
Lombard cities.

Excommunica-
tion of
Frederick.

Defeat of
Frederick.

Character of
Frederick.

outwardly devoted to the Christian religion, but really a skeptic about all religions. In many respects he preferred Mohammedan customs, and in his later years spent his leisure in a Moslem colony which he had founded in southern Italy, where he maintained a harem. In many respects he was far in advance of his age, as is proved by his laws, in which medieval customs were discarded and modern ideas introduced. Dante regarded the period of Frederick's greatest power as the golden age of Italy.

His successors were unable to withstand their combined enemies, and their rule ceased in Germany with the death of Conrad IV, in 1254. Then succeeded a period of "Fist-law," when there was no central government and each portion of the country had to keep peace and defend itself as best it could. The Germans, experiencing disasters under inefficient rulers, sighed for the days when the Hohenstaufens had ruled, and their longing later found expression in the legend of the sleeping Barbarossa. In parts of Italy, Frederick's descendants retained some powers until 1268, when the young Conradin fell into the hands of Charles of Anjou and was beheaded at Naples.

From this time the peninsula of Italy was almost wholly free from any control by the emperors. In the north the cities engaged in civil wars which resulted in the rise of city-states controlling the adjacent towns and villages. Of these the most important were Venice, Milan, Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. The center of the peninsula formed the papal states governed by the Pope. In the south the French house of Anjou established the kingdom of Naples, and Sicily was conquered by Aragon. Thus the whole of Italy was divided into separate states, which were destined to remain disunited until the last third of the nineteenth century.

The Hohenstaufen policy had been fatal to the cause of Germany unity. In order to secure men and supplies,

the emperors had granted away almost all of the imperial prerogatives. As they wished to lessen the power of the great nobles, they had made many knights and cities immediate vassals of the empire. Consequently, when the imperial authority was not exercised, all of the immediate vassals, princes, bishops, knights, cities, and even villages claimed to be independent. Many of the weaker were forced to submit, but the total number of independent cities and knights was very large.

Position of
Germany.

Their independence was fostered by the double election after the death of Conrad IV. Two rivals were chosen by opposing parties; one was the English Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III; the other, King Alfonso X of Castile.¹ Neither one exercised any real power; Richard spent but little time in Germany, and Alfonso never visited it. Each one, in order to gain support, granted privileges and lands to nobles, bishops, or cities whose aid he wished to gain. The last semblance of imperial authority was lost, and all imperial domains passed into private hands. This was the period of "Fist-law" already referred to. Richard died in 1272.

The electors² felt it necessary to choose a king, but did not desire a strong monarch who would take away any of

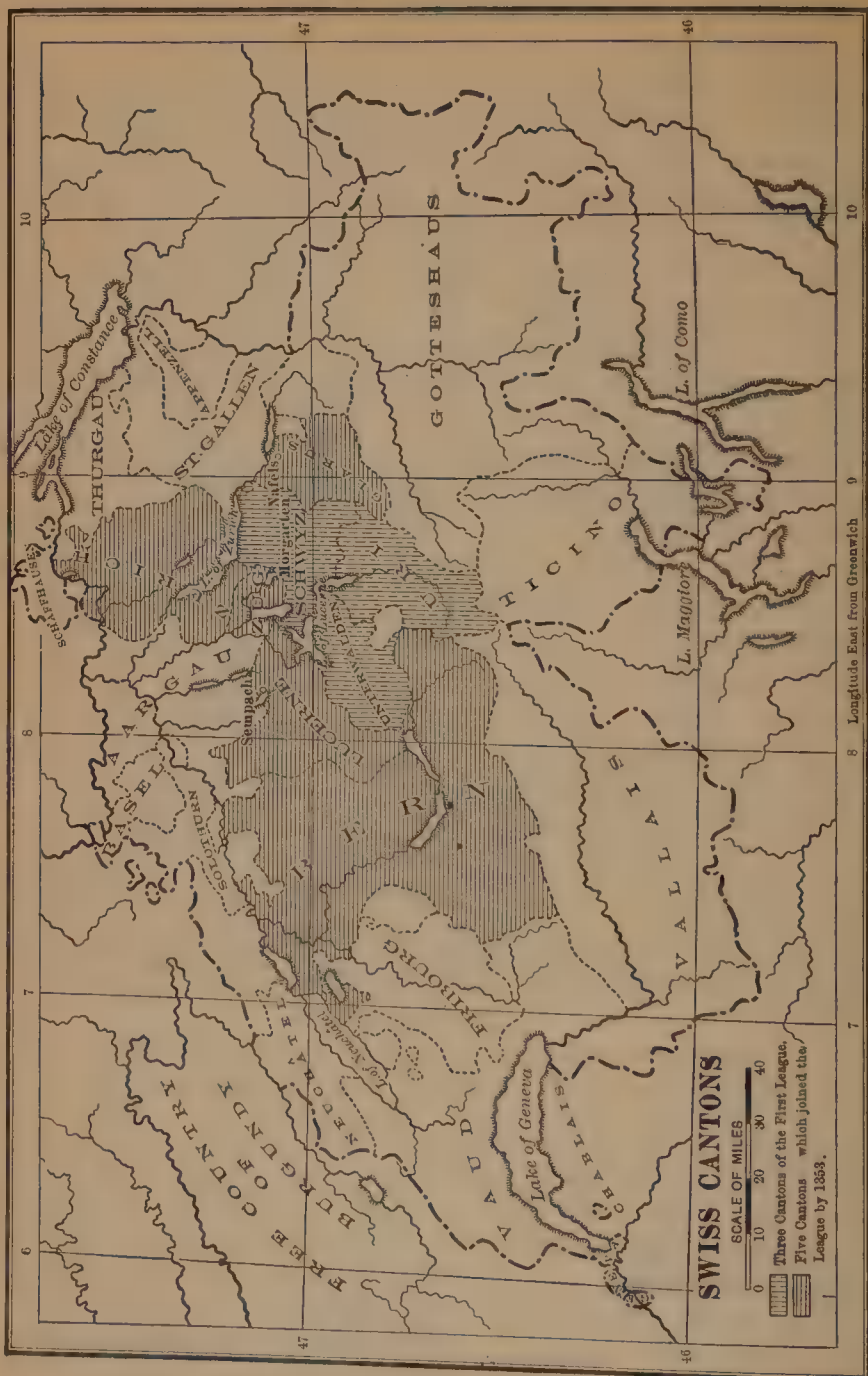
¹ The election of a Spanish and an English emperor was due to the theory—never in accordance with the facts—that the empire embraced all Christian Europe, and consequently any prince was eligible to the throne.

² Originally the king was elected by all the freemen. Gradually this power passed into the hands of the chief nobles. In the thirteenth century seven of the most powerful princes claimed this right of choice. There was some dispute as to the seven who should constitute the electoral college, but in 1356, by the Golden Bull of Charles IV, the following were designated: the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

their own power. Their choice accordingly fell upon Rudolf, the "pauper count" of Hapsburg. His position was Election of a very difficult one, as he secured by election
 Rudolf of no domain lands and little real authority.
 Hapsburg. Moreover, Alfonso of Castile still claimed the title, and the king of Bohemia, who had not been consulted about the election, was openly hostile to Rudolf. In order to gain the support of the Pope, he confirmed all previous grants of Italian lands to the Holy See, and made no attempt to enforce his claim to the kingdom of Sicily. His policy was to add to his family possessions in Germany. As the king of Bohemia remained hostile, Rudolf attacked him and succeeded in conquering Austria, which had been annexed to Bohemia. This was his only great success, and resulted in the establishment of the Hapsburg family in Austria, where their rule has lasted until the present day.

At his death the electors refused to choose his son, and selected another weak noble. Their unwillingness to elect a strong candidate prevented the monarchy in
 Later emperors. Germany from becoming hereditary, as it had done in France. Each emperor tried to aggrandize his own family and to add to his domains. Outside of his immediate possessions no ruler was strong, and Germany continued to be divided into many independent states, some of large size, others with a few hundred acres only under their control.

Among the richest of the villages which claimed to be independent of all powers except the emperor, were the Swiss Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, on the Lake of Lucerne. These had been originally in the
 The Swiss Confederation. duchy of Swabia, and Rudolf of Hapsburg, before he became emperor, attempted to subjugate them, together with the rest of the duchy, to his sway. Fortunately for the little Swiss cantons, of which these villages were the centers, Rudolf's election turned his ambition in other directions, and they remained free. The



next emperor, who was opposed to the Hapsburg claims, protected them for some years. In 1315, when the Hapsburg count finally sent a force against them, it was cut to pieces by the Swiss confederates in the battle of Morgarten. This success, and the growing desire for independence, led five other cantons¹ to join them, thus forming the Swiss Confederation.² The common danger of attack by a powerful foe caused the cantons to forget local jealousies and differences. The great attempt to subjugate them to the Hapsburg power was thwarted by the battle of Sempach, in 1386, and three years later the confederated cantons were acknowledged to be independent except for their allegiance to the emperor. In their wars the Swiss had proved themselves the best infantry in Europe, and their services were sought as mercenaries by the other nations.

In the north of Germany the cities were becoming very wealthy by trade. The weakness of the central government, and the privileges which they had secured, made them independent. The towns along the Baltic profited especially by the fisheries, as herring came thither each year in countless numbers. The perils of the sea and the dangers from robbers led these towns to unite for protection. When they formed such a union it was known as a *hansa*, or *hanse*.³ The most important hanse was formed by the union of Hamburg and Lübeck, which was entered into for the protection of the road between the two cities. Gradually other towns joined in order to secure protection for their trade, until at about the beginning of the fourteenth century the association became known as the Hanseatic League. At first the purposes were wholly commercial, but their interests and the neces-

The Hanseatic
League.

¹ Lucerne, 1320; Zurich, 1351; Glarus and Zug, 1352; Bern, 1353.

² The legend of William Tell and the oath of Rütthli are wholly fabulous.

³ Hanse was a common term for associations formed for commercial purposes.

sities of common defense led them to undertake combined military operations against Denmark. For a time during the early fifteenth century this league was the most important power in the north. It was ruined by the departure of the herring, which left the Baltic, and by the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century, which gave the commercial advantage to other nations.¹

The sphere of German influence was greatly extended in the northeast by the efforts of the Teutonic Order. This had been founded at the siege of Acre, during Prussia. the third crusade, and had been confirmed in 1191 by the Pope. For a time its knights served in the Holy Land, but in 1231 transferred their activity to the lands along the Baltic which were still held by the heathen Slavs. In a half century they had conquered all of Prussia,² and there they maintained their power until the middle of the fifteenth century.³

Much later the lands of the Teutonic Order, which had become the duchy of Prussia, were transferred to the Hohenzollern Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg. From that time the Baltic provinces of Prussia were held by the elector of Brandenburg, until in the eighteenth century his title was changed to king "in Prussia."

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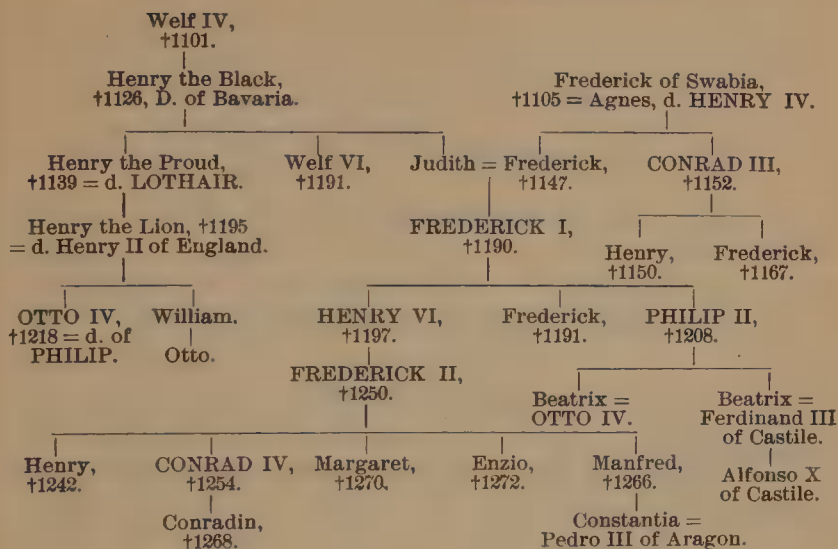
¹ Some cities, like Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck retained, until the nineteenth century, the name of hanse towns, but only as a symbol of freedom, not of association.

² Not the modern Prussia. See Map.

³ Their later history is to be found in the history of the rise of Brandenburg and the growth of Poland.

GUELFs

HOHENSTAUFENS



NOTE.— =, married ; D., duke ; d., daughter. Names of emperors in capitals.

CHAPTER XVIII

France (1108-1314)

IN Germany feudalism triumphed over the monarchy; the centralized government was weakened by repeated concessions to the nobles, until the king became merely the nominal suzerain, while all the real power was in the hands of the vassals. In France, the king in the eleventh century was a baron with no effective power outside of his own fiefs. In three centuries the kingship had shaken off its feudal bonds and had become a centralized government. The first four Capetian monarchs did little more than retain the title of king for their family; their possessions were less extensive than some of the fiefs held by their vassals. From this humble origin the kingdom grew, until, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it included almost all of modern France.

The Capetian rulers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were occupied with two great tasks: first, that of bringing all the fiefs in France under their direct rule; secondly, that of superseding the feudal usages by monarchical institutions. Their success was due to the fact that they moved slowly, attempting no rash innovations, and did not take any action which was not a natural outgrowth of existing customs. They took away gradually many rights from their vassals, but they did it by following feudal usages, and by claiming these rights as overlords. A part of their success was due to the ability of the individual rulers,

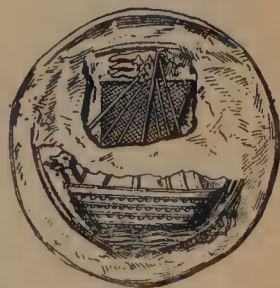
especially Philip Augustus and Louis IX; in fact, Louis VII is the only one of the twelfth or thirteenth century kings who can be called weak, and his weakness would be less apparent if he had not succeeded Louis VI and been followed by Philip Augustus.

Many circumstances, of which they took full advantage, aided in establishing their power. Most prominent of all

Favoring circumstances;
hereditary
kingship.

was the fact that the kingship gradually became recognized as hereditary. In the earlier centuries it had been, like the German, elective. More fortunate than the German kings,

each Capetian, for three centuries, had a son to succeed him. Each of the earlier monarchs had his son elected associate-king during his own life. In the time of Philip Augustus the hereditary succession was so fully recognized that he did not feel it necessary to continue the custom. When Louis VIII died, in 1226, his son, although only a child, was recognized without hesitation.



SEAL OF THE CITY OF
PARIS.

The king was aided by the rise of communes and the growth in importance of the non-noble classes, because the

Aid from the
third estate.

latter desired peace and order above all else. Not merely their prosperity, but their very safety, depended upon the suppression of private warfare

and feudal exactions. The king could count upon assistance and money from them, if needed to check disorder. Moreover, the study of law at the universities was educating a large number of laymen from the middle class, who entered the royal service and superseded the nobles as the king's agents.

The French monarchs profited also by the misfortunes of their vassals. Throughout the country all the petty fiefs

were being absorbed into a few great fiefs; two of the most important of these were Normandy and Toulouse. As the duke of Normandy was the king of England, the civil wars in the latter country enabled the French king to annex Normandy to the royal possessions. The Albigensian crusade¹ so weakened the count of Toulouse that he was forced to resign most of his lands to the king, who gradually secured almost all of Languedoc. These favoring circumstances were utilized skillfully by the Capetians.

This work was done so methodically, and the results were so striking, that modern writers are apt to attribute to the rulers a conscious plan and prophetic spirit. This is a mistake. The individual kings were frequently led by their personal feelings into actions which hindered progress. They never planned to discard the feudal usages with which they were familiar, in order to try experiments in statecraft. Yet, from the vantage-ground of the twentieth century, it is easy to trace out the steps by which the suzerains of the territory immediately about Paris became the monarchs of France. They established their rule firmly in the duchy of France. They drew into their employ men of humble birth, whose fortunes were wholly dependent upon the king, and thus were enabled to dispense with the services of their barons. They acquired one fief after another, until their domain included the whole kingdom. They developed a royal army, so that they were not wholly dependent upon the military forces of their vassals. They established royal courts of justice, which gradually absorbed the business of the baronial courts. They organized a national system of finance, which made them independent of feudal contributions. Some of these processes were going on simultaneously.

Troubles of the
vassals.

Steps in the
creation of
France.

¹ See page 177.

Louis VI reduced to obedience the rebellious vassals in the duchy of France. He had been elected associate king in 1100, and because of the weakness of his father he had assumed the task of repressing disorder, and conducted many campaigns against his vassals. No one of these is important in itself, but the defeat of one vassal after another finally made the king supreme in his own domain. He burned many of the castles which

Louis VI,
1108-1137.



CHARTER OF ST. LOUIS, WITH SEALS.

were held by robber-barons, who had made it impossible for the king to travel in his own fief unless he was accompanied by an armed band. He protected the clergy and the poor against the exactions of the nobles. His chief minister was Suger, a monk of humble birth.

During the reign of Louis VII little progress was made. In his early years he continued the policy of his father in the duchy. He also attempted to establish his authority in Aquitaine, which he had acquired by marrying the heiress, Eleanor. This marriage, arranged by Louis VI, had more than doubled the possessions of the king. His real troubles began when he went on the second crusade. During his absence the barons became powerful,

Louis VII,
1137-1180.

and when he returned he had to take up again the task of establishing order in his duchy. He lost Aquitaine when he obtained a divorce from Eleanor. She had long despised her husband on account of his piety, which was in strong contrast with her own character. She hastened to marry his enemy, Henry of Anjou, who already held Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. By this marriage Henry became more powerful than Louis; his possessions in France were about six times as large as those under the immediate power of the French king, and in addition he soon became king of England. Almost all the remainder of Louis's reign was spent in wars against Henry. Probably the latter's struggle with Thomas Becket¹ saved Louis from defeat.

Philip II was only fifteen years of age when he became king. His strength of character and ability, however, were so marked that he soon took the reins of government into his own hands. He was the very man needed to release the French monarchy from its dangerous position. He was shrewd and diplomatic; he took advantage of every opportunity offered by his opponents and used every other means to increase his own power; he could conceal his feelings so successfully that no one could tell what he really intended to do.

The great task of his reign was to weaken the power in France of the English kings. While Henry II lived, Philip incited the English princes to rebel against their father. He aided each one in turn. After Henry's death, in 1189, had made Richard the Lion-hearted king of England, Philip professed the greatest friendship for the latter. Their intimacy, however, soon led to quarrels, and on the third crusade they became bitter enemies. When Richard was in captivity, Philip encouraged John of England to rebel and joined with him in

Philip Augustus,
1180-1223.

Philip and the
English kings.

¹ See page 217.



CATHEDRAL, AMIENS.



attempting to bribe Henry VI of Germany to keep Richard in prison. After the release of the latter there was open war, until Richard's death freed Philip from the danger of being conquered. John's misdeeds gave him his opportunity, for John married the heiress of Angoulême, who had been betrothed to one of his own vassals, and, moreover, he was suspected of having murdered his nephew Arthur. As feudal overlord Philip summoned John to be tried for his crimes. The latter refused to obey the summons, and in accordance with feudal law forfeited the fiefs which he held from the French king.

Philip took possession of Normandy (1203-'04) and most of John's other possessions in France. He met with serious opposition at only two or three castles, as many of the vassals of John were glad to change their suzerain. Philip took no part personally in the Albigenian crusade, but watched it carefully and managed matters so that eventually Languedoc became the property of his descendants. Other fiefs were added by his shrewdness and diplomacy.

While Richard the Lion-hearted was in captivity Philip planned an invasion of England, and in order to get the assistance of the Danish fleet he married a Danish princess, Ingeborg. She was only eighteen, virtuous and pretty. The very day after the marriage Philip showed a great aversion to her, and hastened to get a divorce, alleging falsely that she was related to him.¹ Ingeborg and her relatives appealed to the Pope, who pronounced the divorce illegal, and commanded Philip to receive her as his wife. Philip refused, kept Ingeborg a prisoner, and married Agnes of Meran. When Innocent III became Pope he laid an interdict upon France (1200) until Philip should send away Agnes and take back Inge-

¹ By the canon law relatives within certain degrees were forbidden to marry.

borg. After some months Philip pretended to yield, but when the interdict was raised he still refused to live with Ingeborg. Agnes died in 1201, but the unhappy Ingeborg was a prisoner for twenty years in all; she complained that she was not given sufficient food or clothing.¹ Finally, in 1213, as Philip again needed the help of Denmark, he took back Ingeborg and treated her as the queen of France. By his unexpected submission he secured the aid of Innocent III.

He needed this, for his position was desperate. John of England had succeeded in forming a coalition with the rulers of Germany, Holland, and Flanders, and by their assistance hoped to regain his lost provinces. The allies planned a double attack upon France: the German and Flemish forces were to invade it from the north, while the English attempted to reconquer Poitou and march upon Paris. John landed at La Rochelle, February 16, 1214, and was welcomed by some of his former vassals. While Philip went to meet the enemy in the north, his son Louis prevented John from conquering Poitou. The allies and the

Battle of Bou-
vines, 1214.

French engaged battle at Bouvines, where the latter, although greatly inferior in number,

won a decisive victory, which had important results in three countries. It freed the king of France from his dangers; in Germany it decided the contest between Otto IV and Frederick II;² in England it gave such a blow to the power of John that he was soon obliged to sign the Great Charter.³

Philip's work had been done thoroughly, so that on the death of Louis VIII (1223-1226), the latter's son, Louis IX, who was only eleven,

Louis IX,
1226-1270.

succeeded to the throne without opposition. During the long minority, the nobles, aided by Henry III of England,

¹ The reason for the king's dislike and cruelty has never been ascertained.

² See page 194.

³ See page 221.

rebelled repeatedly, but the rebellions were easily crushed. Then followed a long period of peace in which Louis gov-



ST. LOUIS.

made a saint—a fitting recognition of his preeminent virtues.

His grandson, Philip the Fair, is famous for his skill in organizing the ad-

Philip the Fair,
1285-1314.

ministration. The foundations had been laid by Philip Augustus and Louis IX, but

Philip IV completed the structure. The results of his work are the basis of the present administrative system in France. The government was centralized, and the power was taken from the feudal nobles in many ways. Lawsuits could be appealed from the feudal courts to the king's court, and many cases could be tried only by the latter tribunal. Philip's most famous innovation was the *States-*

MARGUERITE OF
PROVENCE.

General, in which all classes except the peasants were represented. At its first meeting in 1302, nobles, clergy, and citizens were summoned to assist the king; thus the importance of the third estate was recognized, and its aid was sought by the king.

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CHAPTER XIX

England (1135-1327)

HENRY I had secured from the barons an oath to recognize his daughter Matilda as his successor, but after his death her cousin Stephen obtained the crown, in 1135. The Scotch king and many English nobles asserted the superior rights of Matilda, and a civil war ensued which lasted for seventeen years. During this time the king lost all control of the country, and the power passed into the hands of the feudal nobles. The latter engaged in many private wars and wasted the kingdom so that famines followed in some counties; they also seized the property of private citizens and used torture to extort money from their victims. "They hanged up men by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. . . . They put knotted strings about men's heads and twisted the strings till they entered the brain. . . . Many thousands they starved." This period of anarchy was ended by the peace of Wallingford, in 1153, when Stephen was recognized as king by the party of Matilda, with the condition that her son Henry should receive the crown after Stephen's death.

The following year Henry II succeeded to the throne. In addition to England he ruled over Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, which he had inherited. By his marriage with Eleanor, formerly the wife of Louis VII of France, he secured Aquitaine. Thus his French possessions were more extensive than his English kingdom, and for a time there was a possibility

that England would be merely a subject country ruled by a French monarch. The danger to the French king has been discussed. Fortunately for the development of England, almost all of these foreign possessions were lost during the reign of John.¹

In the British islands, on the other hand, the possessions of the Angevin² kings became much more extensive.

Ireland. One of the popes, Adrian IV, is said to have made a grant of Ireland to Henry. Whether

this is true or not, the latter made an expedition to that island in 1171, and during a brief stay received the submission of the Irish kings. Probably the real reason for his expedition was the growing power of Norman lords, who, dissatisfied with his rule, had left England and were attempting to establish independent principalities in Ireland. This so-called conquest gave the English kings a claim to Ireland, but the later kings paid little attention to that country, and the real conquest and incorporation did not take place until the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

Henry II also became overlord of Wales by the submission of the Welsh rulers. The overlordship was claimed by the succeeding kings, and was generally recognized until the time of Edward I. But the

Wales. Welsh were constantly plundering the English border-lands and joined in every movement against the king. Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, refused for some years to do homage to Edward, and even after acknowledging that he was the king's vassal, made war upon the latter. A long conflict followed, in which the Welsh, aided by the mountainous character of their country, made a stubborn resistance, but were subjugated in 1283. In the following year Edward II was born in their land and received the title of Prince of Wales—which is still borne by the oldest son of the king of England.

¹ See page 210.

² From Anjou, the home of Henry's father.

The Angevin kings also claimed the overlordship of Scotland, as William the Conqueror and William Rufus had both received the homage of the Scottish kings, and in 1137 King David of Scotland had aided Matilda as her vassal. The Scottish monarchs did homage to Henry II, but Richard the Lion-hearted sold his rights as overlord when he needed money for his crusade. On the death of Margaret, the heiress to the Scotch throne, in 1290, several relatives laid claim to the succession, and Edward I was asked to decide which was the lawful heir. He asserted the right of overlordship, which Richard had abandoned, and his authority was recognized by most of the claimants and by many of the nobles. John Balliol was made king by Edward, but soon became irritated, because he found that he was treated merely as a vassal of the English monarch, who kept the effective power in his own hands. Consequently Balliol revolted in 1295 and made an alliance with the French king. War followed in 1296; Balliol was captured, the country was conquered, and an English governor appointed. In fact, Scotland seemed to be incorporated into Edward's possessions. But in 1297 the Scotch revolted again under William Wallace; after a victory at Stirling, a defeat at Falkirk, and various other battles, he was captured, and executed in 1305. The next year Robert Bruce headed another revolt. The death of Edward I in 1307, and the weakness of Edward II, enabled Bruce to gain the mastery of almost all Scotland; and his victory at Bannockburn, in 1314, practically secured the independence of Scotland, which was recognized by the English in the Treaty of Northampton, 1323. The English kings made some attempts later to regain Scotland, but these were of little consequence.

William the Conqueror had favored the clergy and had added to the power of the Church in England, but he was in no way subservient to the papacy. He refused to do homage to Gregory VII; he forbade appeals to Rome; he

allowed no papal legate to land in the kingdom without his permission; and ecclesiastical laws had to receive his sanction before they became operative in England. Henry I wished to keep the same authority and refused to give up the right of investing church officials; but a compromise was reached in 1107, similar to that arranged by the Concordat of Worms.¹ In the period of civil war, however, the Church obtained great power, as there was no effective opposition from Stephen or Matilda.

When Henry II became king he desired to regain the authority over the Church which William had wielded.

Accordingly he appointed as archbishop of Canterbury his chancellor and most intimate friend, Thomas Becket, but the latter at once became the champion of the Church and attempted to assert his freedom from royal control. Open conflict was avoided, however, until the king promulgated the Constitutions of

Clarendon, in 1164. By these laws appeals to Rome without the king's permission were forbidden; the king's consent was declared to be

necessary for the election of bishops and abbots; clerics were in certain cases to be punished by the royal courts; estates held by the Church were to pay the same dues as lay fiefs; and a villein was not to receive ordination without his lord's consent. Becket resisted the enforcement of these laws and was forced to go into exile. In 1170 he returned and again provoked the anger of the king. Some followers of Henry, acting upon rash words which he uttered, murdered Thomas in Canterbury Cathedral. The general indignation of the people compelled Henry, who regretted that his anger had led to the murder, to rescind the constitutions and to do penance for the murder. Later, however, he succeeded in obtaining many of the powers which he desired.

¹ See page 61.

When the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant in 1205, during John's reign, a double election took place, and both parties appealed to the Pope, Innocent III. The latter set aside both candidates, one of whom was nominated by John, and had Stephen Langton elected. As John refused to accept Stephen, Innocent placed England under an interdict in 1208, and the following year excommunicated the king. The latter remained obdurate, and was threatened with deposition by the Pope in 1213. The people of England were so incensed by John's tyranny that he was compelled to yield to the Pope in order to keep his kingdom, and to submit to the most humiliating conditions, acknowledging himself to be a papal vassal, receiving Langton, and promising to pay a large sum each year as a recognition of the Pope's overlordship.

During the period of misrule in the reign of Henry III, the popes treated England as a papal territory, exacting contributions and appointing hundreds of foreigners to church offices. In 1252 Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln, stated that the officials nominated by the Pope were enjoying revenues in England which were three times as great as the king's income.

Edward I endeavored to restrict the power of the clergy. In 1279 he made a law forbidding gifts of estates to the Church, because the lands which it held were free from the payment of feudal dues. He refused to submit to the authority claimed by Boniface VIII, in 1296. Ten years later he forbade members of the Church to pay contributions which were to be used outside the realm. Without openly breaking with the Pope he did all in his power to lessen the papal influence and authority over the Church in England.

When Henry II became king in 1154, he set about the reestablishment of the royal authority, which had been

weakened in the long civil war. The Constitutions of Clarendon, by which he endeavored to restrict the powers of the Church, have been discussed. His other laws, which

Political changes; laws of Henry II. were called assizes, were intended to lessen the authority of the feudal lords, and may be divided into two general classes. Those of the

first class built up a national army, in contrast with the feudal levies on which the king had been obliged to depend. Henry secured money to hire mercenaries by levying frequently a tax called scutage,¹ instead of calling upon the barons to perform their military service. This resulted in a serious loss of power by the feudal nobles. In 1176 he required that all earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and also villeins, who wished to remain in the realm, should take an oath of fealty to him. Thus he reenforced the law of William the Conqueror, which made all subjects responsible directly to the king, and not to any intermediate lord. In 1181, by the Assize of Arms, every freeholder was required to supply himself with suitable arms, and to serve when summoned; thus a national army could be raised directly by the king. The laws of the second class established a system of royal courts, which left comparatively little power to baronial courts. Judges were sent throughout the country to try cases; in 1176 their jurisdiction was extended, and they were given fixed circuits. In 1178 five judges were appointed to hear appeals at Westminster; from these the modern Court of the King's Bench developed.

Henry was interested mainly in his continental possessions, and of the thirty-five years of his reign he spent only thirteen in England. Richard I, who succeeded him, 1189-1199, was in England only ten months in all. John's tyranny and misrule, 1199-1216, alienated every one; in addition, the loss of his continental possessions in 1204, the defeat at Bouvines in

Why the kingship did not become absolute.

¹ From *scutum*, a shield.

1214, and his troubles with the Pope, weakened him. His successor, Henry III, 1216–1272, was unable to govern the realm. Consequently, in spite of the energetic measures of Henry II, the English nobles and people had a long period in which to develop their strength, and when a really capable king, Edward I, 1272–1307, came to the throne, the nation had secured certain rights which the monarch was obliged to respect.

These rights had been obtained mainly by the struggle for the charters. In 1215 the estrangement of the nation from John became so great that the barons met together, and, led by Stephen Langton, compelled the king to sign the Great Charter. This contained few, if any, new principles; but was merely a statement of the rights formerly enjoyed by the subjects. Freedom of election to church offices was confirmed; feudal exactions were restricted; courts were to be held at fixed times and places; freemen were not to be imprisoned or punished except in accordance with the law of the land. John was forced to dismiss his mercenaries, and to consent to the appointment of a commission of twenty-five—twenty-four barons and the mayor of London—who should see that these provisions were observed. When the Pope annulled the charter and suspended Langton, the barons offered the crown to Louis, the son of the king of France. John's death saved the kingdom for his son, Henry III, whom the nobles preferred to a foreign ruler.

For eleven years during Henry's youth the government was directed well by the king's ministers. But they had to struggle against the queen-mother's foreign favorites, who received many appointments in England. From 1227 to 1258 Henry ruled in person, and aroused opposition from his subjects by his incapacity, by his preference for foreigners, and by his demands for money. In order to obtain funds he confirmed the charter repeatedly, but never kept his promises. In

Misrule under
Henry III.

1258, when Henry demanded an enormous sum of money for the Pope, the "Mad Parliament" met, headed by Simon de Montfort, brother-in-law to the king and the son of Montfort, the leader in the Albigensian crusade. This parliament drew up the Provisions of Oxford, which ordered the expulsion of all foreigners, and transferred the government from the king to the barons. Dissensions, however, soon arose among the latter, and the king was able to regain his authority for a time. As he did not observe the Provisions, Earl Simon took up arms against him; after a few months a truce was made, but the war soon broke out again. Simon was slain in 1265, and his associates surrendered in the following year; but in 1267 Henry was compelled to grant almost all the reforms which the "Mad Parliament" had asked.

In 1265 Simon had called together a parliament, to which, besides the clergy and the nobles who were of his party, representatives of the shires, and burghers from certain cities and boroughs, had been summoned. He took this step in order to gain support. At first this innovation bore little fruit, but in 1295, when Edward I needed the aid of all his subjects, he summoned the "Model Parliament." This consisted of tenants-in-chief, representatives of all classes of the clergy, knights of the shire, and two citizens from each city or borough. As Edward said in his summons, "What affects all should be approved by all." Thus the English Parliament was established in the form which it retained until the nineteenth century. Moreover, Edward was obliged, in 1297, to agree to the principle that no general contribution should be exacted from his vassals without the consent of Parliament.

Edward I was able and energetic, a great contrast to his father and also to his son. His wars, his resistance to the demands of the Church, and his "Model Parliament," have been mentioned. In addition, he passed a long series of

laws which diminished the power of the feudal nobles, and established order in the realm. The Assize of Arms was renewed; the process of subinfeudation was restricted, thus preventing a multiplication of feudal duties; and investigation was made to see by what right nobles exercised their judicial and administrative authority; merchants were protected and commerce encouraged; liberal charters were granted to towns, and Magna Charta was confirmed. In short, on the one hand, he restricted the authority of the barons; on the other, he fostered the welfare and prosperity of the merchants.

Edward II was a weak king, and his reign lessened the royal authority which his father had done so much to establish. For a few years he governed by the aid of his favorite Gaveston, who was hated by the people. In 1311 the barons wrested the power from Edward, and compelled him to dismiss his favorite. In the following year Gaveston returned, and was executed by the barons, who, except for a short period, kept the power until 1322. Then Edward recovered his authority, and ruled with his new favorites, the Despensers. In 1327 the queen, supported by the nation, compelled the king to abdicate, and put the Despensers to death. These twenty years of misrule enabled the barons, who were the leaders of the nation, to weaken the royal authority and assert the rights of the subjects.

Thus the course of events in these centuries led to results in England which differed widely from those attained in France. In the latter country the Capetians, at the beginning of the twelfth century, had little authority and only a small territory under their immediate sway. At the beginning of the fourteenth the French kings ruled almost all of France with an absolute government. In England, on the contrary, at the opening of this period, the kings were absolute, and had enormous territories in France and England. In 1327

Laws of
Edward I.

Misrule of
Edward II,
1307-1327.

Contrast with
France.

their French estates, with a few exceptions, had been lost, and their subjects had compelled them to recognize that the royal prerogatives were limited by the rights of the people.

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CHAPTER XX

The Other European Nations

THUS far Germany with Italy, France and England, have been the nations which have occupied the chief place in the discussion. Now it is necessary to trace the growth of the Christian states in the Spanish peninsula, the destruction of the Byzantine Empire, and the rise of kingdoms in Russia and the Scandinavian countries. For all of these states were important in the thirteenth century, and were destined to be still more important in the future.

The new
nations.

The Moors had never conquered the whole of Spain. The Christians who refused to submit to them had established strongholds in the mountains of the northwest, and, as they increased in number, had gradually reconquered one place after another. When the caliphate of Cordova broke up in 1033 into seven kingdoms, the Christians held nearly one-third of the peninsula. Leon, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon were the most important Christian states. Their history for the succeeding one hundred and fifty years is marked by constant struggles with one another, and by almost incessant warfare with the Mohammedan powers. At first Navarre, under Sancho the Great, 970-1035, was supreme; but when Sancho died, his kingdom was divided among his sons, and Ferdinand I, who ruled over Castile and Leon, became the chief power among the Christians.

Under Alfonso VI, who died in 1108, the great period of conquest began. Madrid and Toledo were captured. It

was during this reign that the Cid became famous. The latter's career is very instructive for the history of the period. At times he fought for his sovereign Alfonso; when it served his purpose he allied himself with the Moors, or entered into the service of the king of Aragon, who was the rival of Alfonso. He was a soldier of fortune, of recognized bravery and great ability; his alliance with the Moors and opposition to his monarch did not tarnish his fame, and he has become the legendary hero of Spain.

Wars with
the Moors.

In order to oppose the Christian advance the Moors sought aid from Africa. The Almoravides entered Spain in 1086, and sixty years later were followed by the Almohades. They, in turn, became masters of Mohammedan Spain, but without checking permanently the advance of the Christians. Portugal, which was composed of lands conquered from the Moors, was made a kingdom shortly before the arrival of the Almohades, and Lisbon was taken in 1147. During this time many crusaders took part in the Spanish wars against the infidel; but the most important source of strength was found in the military orders, especially that of Santiago, which were founded in the twelfth century. Under the influence of the crusading spirit the war in Spain took on the character of a religious war. Although the Christians were usually impeded by strife between the different kings, in 1212 the monarchs of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre united and won the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa. This resulted in the permanent triumph of Christianity, and within fifty years the Moorish possessions were confined to the little kingdom of Granada.

Almoravides
and Almohades.

Conquest of
Granada.

From that time until the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1469, the Christians were so much occupied in wars with one another that they made no attempt to conquer Granada. Portugal became separated politically from the rest of the pen-

insula. Navarre disintegrated; the part to the north of the Pyrenees became French territory, the southern portion was annexed by its more powerful neighbors. In 1474 Isabella became queen of Castile, and in 1479 Ferdinand became king of Aragon; their united kingdoms composed almost all of Spain. In 1481 the final struggle with the Moors began, and ten years later the conquest of Granada was completed.

The religious war, which may be called a perpetual crusade, had an important influence upon the internal development of Spain. The clergy became more influential than in any other European country.

Results of
wars.

A spirit of intolerance was aroused which led to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella, to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and later to the expulsion of the Moors. The people secured political rights in Spain much earlier than in any other European country. In 1133 they obtained representation in the Cortes, or parliament, of Aragon, and in 1166 in that of Castile. The nobles also were very independent of the monarchs until the union of Castile and Aragon enabled Ferdinand and Isabella to establish their authority firmly at the expense of their subjects. The latter were powerless to resist, because the nobles and the people had always been disunited and opposed to each other.

Alexius Comnenus, 1081-1118, reestablished the strength of the Byzantine Empire, and also secured some territory in Asia by the aid of the crusaders. But the establishment of the latter in Syria was a serious blow to the prosperity of the Eastern Empire. The trade between the east and the west, which had formerly centered at Constantinople, was now diverted to the Syrian seaports. In order to retain at least a portion at Constantinople, special privileges were given to the Venetians and Pisans, who established trading colonies there. As they were exempted from taxation they were

Byzantine
Empire,
1095-1204.

enabled to undersell the Greek merchants, and the state was deprived of almost all customs duties. The extravagance of Manuel I, 1143-1180, the brutality of Andronicus I, 1183-1185, and the weakness, misrule, and lavish expenditure of Isaac Angelus, 1185-1195, brought the empire to the verge of ruin.

The crusaders in 1204 had comparatively little difficulty in capturing Constantinople and in establishing the Latin Empire. But the feudal states into which the empire was divided had no unity, and the Greek subjects were hostile to their masters. Greek

Latin Empire,
1204-1261.

nobles established principalities in Asia Minor and in outlying portions of the old empire. The Venetians, who had obtained the lion's share of the conquests, were the only western rulers who maintained their authority. One part after another of the Latin Empire was reconquered by Greek rulers until finally, in 1261, Constantinople itself fell into their hands. Some Latin nobles retained principalities for a generation or two, and the Venetians continued to hold the islands and parts of the coast. The emperors of Constantinople managed to keep their capital for nearly

The Greek
Empire,
1261-1453.

two hundred years of inglorious rule. This was due partly to the strength of the city and partly to the lack of any continued effort by their opponents. Early in the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks began their attacks upon the empire, and one city after another was wrested from its grasp. Finally, after all the territory outside the city had been occupied by the Turks, Constantinople fell into their hands in 1453.

The early history of Russia is very obscure. Its Slavonic inhabitants were conquered in part by the Northmen under Rurik in the latter half of the ninth century.

Russia.

The foreign rulers maintained themselves at first by aid from the Scandinavian countries; then they turned to their subjects, the Slavs, for support. About the year 1000 the Christian religion was introduced by the



COURT OF THE LIONS, ALHAMBRA.

ruler and the people were brought under the civilizing influence of the Byzantine Empire. For a time the country was united under an able ruler, churches were built in many places, trade was fostered, and Russia seemed destined to be a great European power. But on the death of Jaroslav the Great, 1015-1044, his kingdom was split into many fragments which engaged in almost constant warfare with one another. This state of confusion lasted for two centuries. During the latter part of the period Russia was attacked on the west and northwest by the religious orders, the Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic order, who by their conquests shut it off from the Baltic and from Poland. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Tartars subjugated Russia, which became Asiatic rather than European, and for three centuries remained under their yoke. As it was cut off from Europe and from contact with the civilization which led to the Renaissance and Reformation, its history followed a course widely different from that of any other European country.

The invasions and conquests of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries brought the Scandinavian countries into connection with the rest of Europe, but the inhabitants who remained at home were much less advanced in civilization than their kinsmen, the Normans, who settled in England, France, or Italy. Christianity was introduced in the eleventh century when Canute the Great, 1014-1035, was for a time king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. After his death separate kingdoms were formed and little advance was made until the thirteenth century, when the countries became thoroughly Christianized and profited by the growing commerce in the Baltic Sea. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were engaged in conflict with the Hanseatic League. For a short period at the beginning of the latter century the three countries were again united; for Margaret, who chanced to secure all three crowns, per-



WOODEN DOOR OF CHURCH IN ICELAND.
(Tenth or eleventh century.)

suaded the nobles to agree to the Union of Kalmar in 1397. Soon, however, the countries again separated. Their importance in the middle ages was due to their voyages and colonization. In addition to their conquest in England and on the continent, the Norwegians settled Iceland, which was soon a flourishing although little developed state, and made voyages to North America centuries before the discovery by Columbus.

In order to make a complete survey of Europe in the thirteenth century, it would be necessary to follow the fortunes of the Finns and Slavs, as well as the *Other nations.* stronger nations. The most important representatives of the Finns were the Hungarians or Magyars. They invaded Europe in the ninth century as nomads, and by their devastations terrorized Germany and Italy. Defeated by Otto the Great on the Lechfeld in 955, they ceased their depredations for a time. Under St. Stephen, 995-1038, they were converted to Christianity, and under his successors conquered all of the present Hungary. They still retained their nomadic habits in the twelfth century, rarely dwelling in houses. In 1222 the nobles secured from the king the Golden Bull, which guaranteed their privileges and in some points resembled Magna Charta; but the people obtained no rights, and were held in bondage by the nobles. Besides the Russian Slavs, other Slavs settled in Bohemia and Poland. The former country came under the German influence; the king of Bohemia in the thirteenth century became one of the seven imperial electors, and his capital was for a time the residence of the emperor. Poland was the scene of almost continuous civil war, in which the nobility destroyed the power of the king, only to fall into a state of anarchy.

With the close of the thirteenth century, or the beginning of the fourteenth, the medieval period ended in the most progressive countries. In the others, medieval conditions continued to prevail for a longer or a shorter

time. The fourteenth century is of far less interest than the thirteenth, for, although substantial progress was made, it was due mainly to the diffusion of the ideas and activities which had their birth in an earlier age. Some writers have characterized the two periods by saying that after the wonderful advance of the thirteenth century the nations "marked time" during the fourteenth. Certainly the conditions and forces which had determined the course of events in the middle ages were replaced to a considerable extent by other interests at the close of this period. The more important modern nations of Europe were well established, and Christianity was the dominant religion. The medieval empire had lost its power, and with it departed the dream of a world-wide Christian state. The papacy was soon to undergo a captivity at Avignon, from which it would emerge with views and powers widely different from those held by Innocent III. Feudal institutions were declining rapidly, and the men of the third estate were rising into prominence. The Renaissance was soon to dawn. Europe was on the verge of geographical discoveries which would reveal a far larger world, and would culminate at the end of the fifteenth century with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America; gunpowder was to revolutionize the art of war, and the printing-press was destined to diffuse a greater degree of general intelligence. Master minds, like Roger Bacon and Dante, who has been well styled the Janus-faced, illustrate the character of the age, although they were far in advance of their contemporaries. In most respects, they were thoroughly medieval in all their education and thoughts; but occasionally they had intuitions and wrote passages instinct with the modern spirit.

Close of the
middle ages.

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MAXIMILIAN.

TWENTIETH CENTURY TEXT-BOOKS

A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

BY

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

THE text which follows differs from the many interesting and valuable school histories which have preceded it in laying greater emphasis upon the Contemporary Period. This change of values reflects, I think, the tendency of American schools of history, and these in turn are responding to the growing world-interests of the American people. An expansion of the Nineteenth Century implies a corresponding contraction in the earlier centuries, the period of historical instruction remaining constant. It is a pity, when the history of Europe is everywhere so attractive; but it is inevitable. Our forefathers were content with classical, and often with mythical personages; we have been made to comprehend our Luther and Loyola, our Mirabeau and Napoleon; and our children will have to make more room for their Cavour, their Bismarck, and their Gladstone. It is a choice of benefits, and there are many substantial reasons why, in the building up of a system of popular education, the present should not be sacrificed to the past.

I take pleasure in acknowledging my obligation to Dr. A. F. Nightingale, of Chicago, and to Professor Dana Carleton Munro, of the University of Wisconsin, for valuable suggestions; also, by way of reference to their works,

to Professors C. M. Andrews and S. M. Macvane, and to MM. Seignobos, Lavissee, Rambaud, Monod, Driault, and de Crozals, who have done so much of late toward solving the vexed problems of historical presentation.

MERRICK WHITCOMB.

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A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

The Modern Nations

§ 1. FRANCE

No sharp line of division separates the Middle Ages from modern times. The beginnings of the modern era, as distinguished from the medieval, must be sought far back in the general political disorder of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The modern spirit is, however, none the less real because its beginnings are so closely interwoven with the declining medieval institutions. The ideas to which it gives rise, as they gradually free themselves from the grasp of feudalism and ecclesiastical control, struggle forward to become those typical features of modern life, the development and perfection of which have been the task of western civilization up to the present time.

One of the distinctive features of the new times is the modern idea of government. In feudal times the sovereign was little more than an over-lord, the greatest noble of the realm. His contact with his subjects was not immediate, but only through the medium of his feudal barons. The task of the new movement, the transition from feudal to modern government, was the substitution of a uniform central administration for the numerous little states, independent in fact, even though subject to the king in feudal theory;

a gathering together into one hand of the scattered forces of the kingdom. That the establishment of this later form of government was at the expense of feudalism is evident; so that the rise of the modern state, the establishment of a central power, is coincident with the decline of the feudal system.

Modern government includes among others two great functions: *the right of administering justice; and the right of levying taxes.* In his gradual assertion of the right of justice the king was greatly assisted by the legists, a body of men, chiefly of the middle class, who devoted themselves to the study of law. These men were the product of the revival

The king's
justice.



THE KING AND HIS COUNCILORS.

of interest in the Roman Law, which began in the twelfth century at Bologna. This study spread into France, and furnished men trained in the principles of a legal system, who, on account of their ability to solve the difficult problems of justice in accordance with equity and with the authority of a written law, soon became the necessary agents of the king. The principles of the Roman Law were opposed to the principles of feudalism. The Roman Law contemplated a ruler whose authority should extend throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom, unhindered by the trammels of feudalism. This was the ideal of the legists, and it became

whose authority should extend throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom, unhindered by the trammels of feudalism. This was the ideal of the legists, and it became

the ambition of the king whom they advised. "The king's will is law;" "All justice emanates from the king:" such were the maxims of the legists, and they are also the fundamental principles of modern government.

The entering wedge was the "case reserved to the King's Bench." Gradually, through the interpretation of the legists, the number of these cases became greater, until the king's authority was everywhere established. His men, called *baillis*, were distributed throughout the provinces, to safeguard the royal interests, judicial and otherwise. This was the beginning of a royal administration, which, strengthened and extended by the kings of France, became the centralized monarchy of modern times.

The authorities of the church were less inclined than the feudal nobles to yield to the king's assumption of judicial rights, and they were better organized for resistance, with a head at Rome.

Ecclesiastical
and civil courts.

To conservative men of the time it seemed questionable, no doubt, whether the rights of people in general, which had found their best protection for centuries in the courts of the church, might safely be entrusted to a temporal prince. Much less were they willing to permit the exercise of such rights over the persons of the clergy.

At the close of the thirteenth century the issue was joined between the church and the rising royal power of France. Philip the Fair, continuing the work of his predecessors in extending the royal power, came into hostile contact with Pope Boniface VIII. The pope denied the right of Philip to tax the lands of the church, or to sit in justice over a clerical person. A bitter strife ensued, in which, although Philip was forced to abandon the right of taxing the clergy, and to accept from them a free gift of money in its place, he nevertheless terminated the struggle in a manner which greatly injured the papal power for a long time. Fomenting an insurrection at Rome, he overthrew

Pope Boniface with violence, and on his speedy death caused to be elected a pope of French sympathies, and saw to it that the seat of the papacy was removed to Avignon, in the midst of French territory. Here the popes lived for nearly seventy years, 1309–1377, subject to French influence, and making no further resistance to the extension of French power.

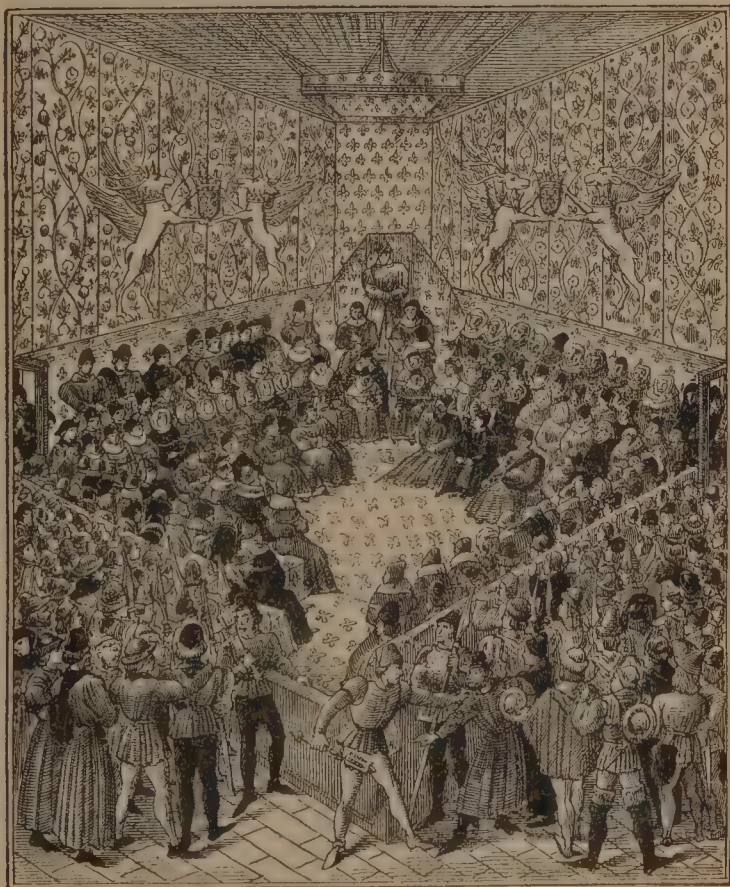
The reign of Philip the Fair (1285–1314) gave rise to another great modern institution. Up to his time the Estates of the king had consisted of the great lords and prelates, to whom he looked for aid and counsel. In the struggle with Pope Boniface, Philip, in order to strengthen his position, called into the Estates the representatives of the cities, making of them a Third Estate. In this manner the king allied to himself the new and growing commercial and industrial element, whose prosperity was dependent on an orderly and uniform administration, and opposed to the disorders of feudalism. The Estates General of France, which in their origin resemble the Parliament of England, were destined to play no such grand part in the constitutional development of France. Now and then, at intervals when the crown was weak, they came forward to the relief of France; but for the most part they were subordinated to the overwhelming power of the strong monarchy which governed France.

The political development of France was interrupted by a long period of warfare, arising out of the claims of English kings to the French throne. With varying fortunes, the English at one time possessed the northern and southwestern parts of France, including Paris; and the French king was driven from his capital. At this moment of greatest peril to the crown of France, a simple peasant girl, Joan of Arc, impelled by visions which she thought divine, came to the relief of her king, Charles VII, and infused new courage

The Third
Estate.

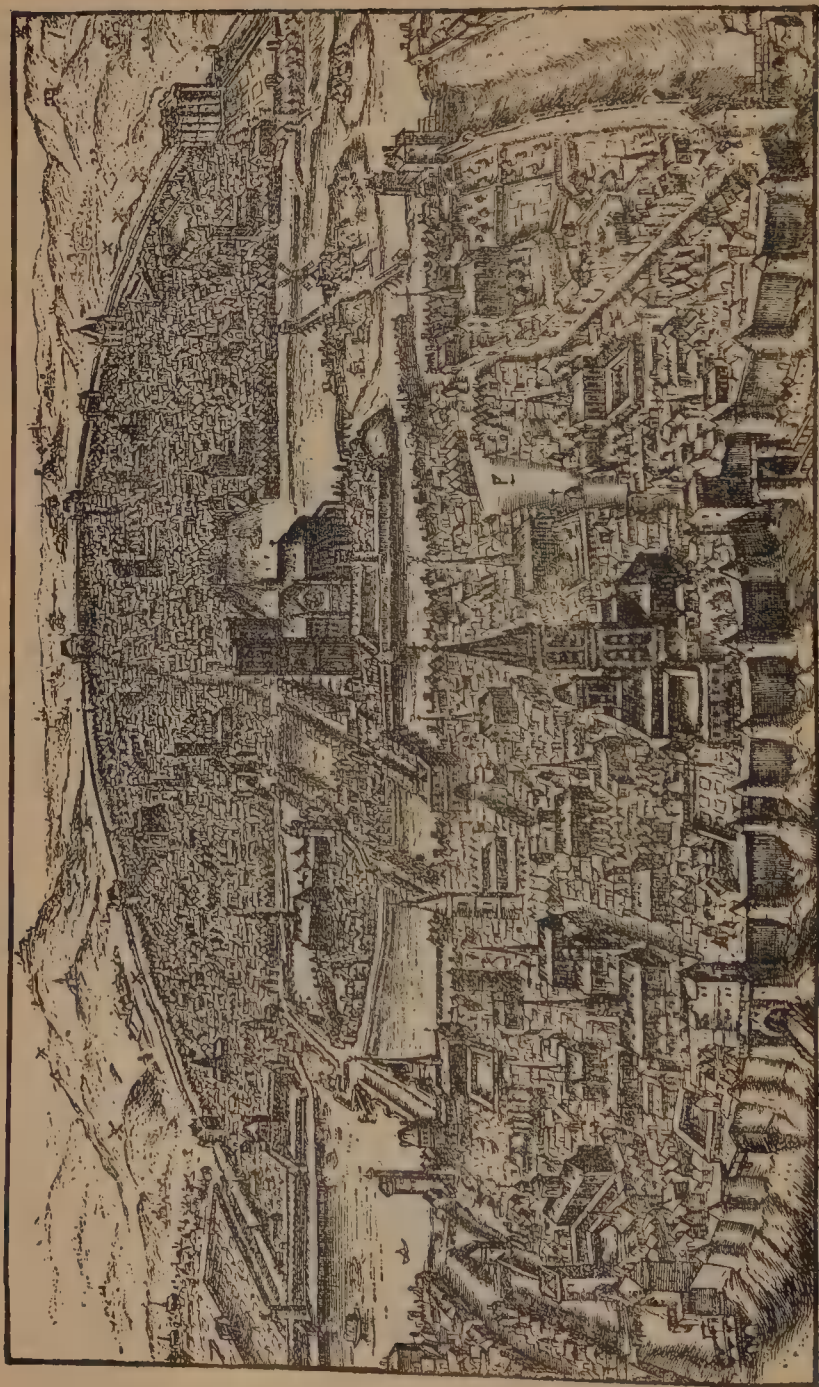
The Hundred
Years' War
(1346-1453).

into the spirits of her countrymen. The tide was turned against the English, and step by step they were driven back, until, except the fortress of Calais, they had no longer any



ENACTMENT OF THE ROYAL EDICT.

possessions in France. Charles VII (1422-1461), delivered from his foe, took up again the centralizing projects of his predecessors, and in his reign the absolute monarchy advanced a long way toward its perfection.



PARIS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Instructions to ■ *bailli*.—"If you are knowing to any abuse committed by the spiritual lords, it is your duty to inform the king. If the nobles are about to betake themselves to violence, you shall not suffer it; and if the lawyers are devouring the people, it is your duty to give information against them, and send them before the king."

STRUGGLE OF PHILIP THE FAIR WITH BONIFACE VIII.

II. Extract from Bull "*Unam Sanctam*,"¹ defining the authority of the church over the state: "In this church and in its power are two swords—to-wit, a spiritual and a temporal—and this we are taught by the words of the Gospel, for when the Apostle said, 'Behold, here are two swords (in the church, namely, since the apostles were speaking), the Lord did not reply that it was too many, but enough. And surely he who claims that the temporal sword is not in the power of Peter has but ill understood the word of our Lord when he said: 'Put up thy sword in its scabbard.' Both, therefore—the spiritual and the material swords—are in the power of the church, the latter indeed to be used for the church, the former by the church; the one by the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, but by the will and sufferance of the priest. It is fitting, moreover, that one sword should be under the other and the temporal authority subject to the spiritual power."

REFERENCES

Adams: *The Growth of the French Nation*, Chapters VIII., IX.; **Lodge:** *The Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 49-65.

§ 2. GERMANY

In Germany the progress toward a modern form of government met with insuperable obstacles. Many things

¹ A leaden disk, called in Latin "*bullæ*," engraved with the Papal emblem, was attached to the document with thongs or bands, and was especially prominent; hence the name. Bulls are named from the opening words of the text.

prevented the Emperor from consolidating and extending his power, as the King of France had done so successfully.

The Empire
and its
limitations.

In France the long period of subjection to authority in Roman times established a habit of obedience to a supreme power, which the disordered conditions of feudal times had not wholly extinguished. In the countries east of the Rhine the people had never been subjected to the unifying influences of Roman administration, and here in German lands the old tribal spirit, the separatist tendency, was the stronger. Men were Swabians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Austrians in practical affairs, and Germans only by sentiment. Then, too, the Emperor, if he aspired to weld the German states into a united monarchy, was seriously hampered by the fact that his office was elective, not hereditary. The individual German states were too nearly equal in power, too jealous of authority, to permit the Empire to become anything substantial. Therefore the Empire came to be, as we approach modern times, a mere shadow of supremacy. Yet, unsubstantial as it was, its mere existence prevented, until its dissolution in the nineteenth century, any other progressive German power from rising to a position of leadership.

The connection of the Empire with the Papacy was also a bar to the development of German unity. Since the memorable event of Christmas Day, 800,¹ when the Empire took its rise, the Papacy had claimed the right to interfere in the affairs of the Empire. Of the seven great princes who elected the Emperor, in accordance with the provisions of the "Golden Bull" (1356), three were spiritual princes, who owed allegiance first of all to Rome. The papal coronation was generally thought to be necessary to the com-

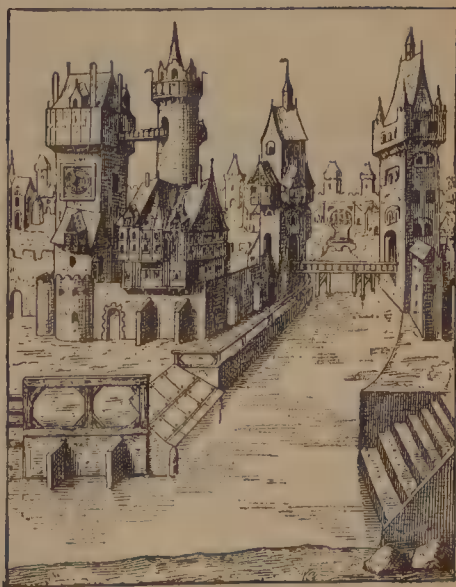
The Empire
and the Papacy.

¹ The coronation of Charles the Great; the beginning of the medieval Empire.

plete possession of the imperial dignity; and although the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian at one time (1338) formally declared the voice of the electors sufficient, yet later Emperors found it profitable to seek their coronation at the hands of the pope. Such foreign interference made it impossible for the Emperor to legislate, as Philip the Fair had done in France, against the interference of the church in the judicial and financial affairs of his territory. The formation of a modern state made necessary the transference of the affairs of government from the hands of the clergy to the king's agents, and this was impossible in the Empire, where, in addition to the three spiritual electors, quite one-third of the princes who assembled in the Imperial Diet (or Estates) were clergymen, dependent for their offices on the pope.

With the Empire in this condition of weakness, it was the individual states, such as Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, and others less important, that were touched with the spirit of modern sovereignty.

Their dukes and princes set about the task which resulted in the conversion of their feudal territories into states in the modern sense. They sought to bring under their immediate control all the feudal elements within their boundaries: the free cities, little republics, looking to the Emperor as their lord; the free imperial knights, the remnant of medieval chivalry, who,



IMPERIAL GERMAN CITY.

while holding estates within the ducal territories, yet claimed allegiance only to the Emperor, and refused to share the common burdens of taxes and military duty laid upon them by the ducal officers. Thus, in miniature, the dukes and princes of the Empire were doing what the King of France had accomplished on a larger scale. The result in Germany was a group of small states, whose independence was limited only by the shadowy authority of the Emperor, with mutual jealousies and warring policies. Such have been the characteristics of German political life down to our times, when a partial unity has at last been achieved under the leadership of ancient Brandenburg.

With Albert II (1438) the imperial crown passed to the House of Hapsburg, there to remain, with one brief interruption,¹ so long as the Empire lasted.

The House of
Hapsburg.

At this time the Hapsburgs, although rich in territory, were poor in revenue. They had lost Switzerland, but they had gained Bohemia and Hungary. Frederick III (1440-1493), cousin and successor of Albert, is said to have driven about through his possessions with an ox-team, soliciting offerings from his great vassals. In Frederick's time, however, came the first of a series of great marriages, which made the family rich and powerful. His son Maximilian married, in 1478, Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, thereby adding to the Hapsburg lands the provinces of the Netherlands, rich with commerce and industry. Maximilian's son Philip married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and, although Philip died before his father Maximilian, the child of the Spanish marriage, Charles, united the lands of Spain, Burgundy, and Austria, building up a vast empire, the fortunes of which we shall follow in the history of the Reformation.

¹ 1742-1745 the Emperor was a Bavarian, Charles VII. On his death, in 1745, the line of Hapsburg was continued through Maria Theresa until the imperial title was laid aside in 1806.



THE YOUNG MAXIMILIAN INSTRUCTED IN THE MYSTERIES OF THE
BLACK ART.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Constitution of the German Empire :

(a) Holy Roman Emperor.

(b) Imperial Diet, consisting of three chambers :

1. Seven Electors : Archbishop of Mayence.

Archbishop of Cologne.

Archbishop of Treves.

Electoral Duke of Saxony.

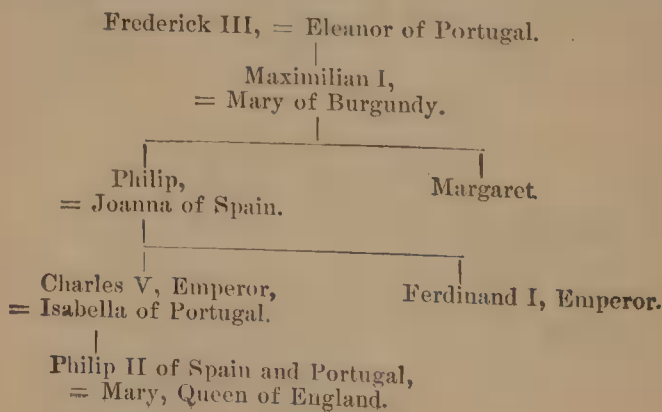
Margrave of Brandenburg.
 Elector Palatine of the Rhine.
 King of Bohemia.

2. Chamber of Princes, spiritual and lay.

3. Chamber of imperial cities.

(c) Imperial Supreme Court of Justice, for the adjustment of interstate affairs. [Note.—In the inability of this court to settle the affairs of the individual states, and thereby to give peace to the Empire, is seen most clearly the impotence of the imperial power.]

II. Extract from the edict of Lewis the Bavarian, declaring the Empire independent of the Papacy (1338): “We, therefore, with the counsel and approbation of the electors and other princes of the Empire, do declare that the imperial dignity and power is derived immediately from God alone, and that, according to the law and custom of the Empire, approved from of old, after anyone shall be chosen Emperor or King by the electors of the Empire, either unanimously, or by the greater part of them, he is straightway, from the simple fact of his election, to be considered and entitled true King and Emperor of the Romans, and should be obeyed by all subject to the Empire. He should, moreover, possess full power in administering the laws of the Empire, and in doing all those things which appertain to a true Emperor, nor does he require the approbation, confirmation, authority, or consent of the Pope, the Apostolic See, or of anyone whatsoever.”



REFERENCES

- Seeböhm : *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 26-33 ;
 Johnson : *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 106-128 ;
 Lodge : *The Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 394-418.

§ 3. SPAIN AND ENGLAND

In Spain the impulse toward national consolidation was aided by external conditions. The mountain kingdoms, which had struggled side by side against the common foe, the Mohammedans of the South, were welded together by their united effort. On the decline of the Moorish power this union was made permanent in the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, uniting the two great Christian kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, Aragon and Castile. In 1492, the year of the discovery of America, the last of the Moorish states of southern Spain, Granada, was overthrown. By the terms of the surrender of Granada, freedom of worship and of education, Mohammedan laws and judges were promised to the Moors. These terms were violated. Persecutions led to a series of revolts during the years 1500-1501, and on the suppression of the rebellion in 1502 a royal Spanish decree offered to the Moors the choice of baptism or exile. Meanwhile the bigotry engendered by centuries of religious strife burst forth against the Jews, who were ordered to leave the country in 1492. The exile of these industrious peoples was a severe blow to Spain. The discovery of America and the consequent influx of precious metals seemed for a time to offset the loss ; but this source of sudden wealth was fleeting, and served rather to discourage habits of thrift and industry than otherwise. At a time when other nations were laying the foundations of modern industry the Spanish mind was turned toward adventure and rapacious methods of gaining wealth.

In organizing the royal power the rulers of Spain met

with many obstacles. In no country of Europe were constitutional privileges, limiting the power of the crown, so numerous and powerful as in Spain. The

Internal policy
of Ferdinand
and Isabella.

Cortes, or National Estates, were more vigorous than any similar body in France or Germany. In Aragon an official called the Justiciar, elected by the Cortes, claimed the right of hearing appeals,



CROWN OF QUEEN ISABELLA.

inquiring into the legality of arrests and advising the king on constitutional questions. In addition to this there were powerful military orders, with wealth and authority similar to the Templars in France. To overcome these obstacles to their power the rulers of Aragon and Castile first brought the cities to their aid. The principal cities of Castile had organized an association, called the Holy Brotherhood, for the purpose of protecting themselves against the arbitrary demands of kings and nobles. They had established courts for the trial of offenses of violence, with mounted police to carry out the orders of the courts. This association was taken under royal control, and its system of justice used in the interests of the rulers, to curb the nobles.

The fact that for two centuries the wars of Spain had been crusades against the unbelieving Moors caused the relations between church and state to be unusually close in Spain. The crown was given the right of nomination to the great offices and dignities of the church, and they made use of this privilege in filling the great bishoprics with men devoted to the interests of the king, instead of filling them with proud and independent nobles. This led to the elevation of able men, of whom Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo in 1492, is perhaps the most notable. He became High Chancellor of Castile, and his ability contributed

The Crown and
the Church.

much to the work of national unity and the building up of a strong centralized government in the modern sense. At the death of Ferdinand the Spanish possessions, handed over to the Spanish-Hapsburg Charles, embraced the whole peninsula, with the exception of Portugal, with conquered territories in north Africa and south Italy, and infinite possibilities of extension in the western hemisphere. The Spanish army, drilled by able generals like Gonzalvo, was the ablest fighting force in Europe, and Spain was rapidly nearing the zenith of her brilliant but brief career.



PSALTER OF QUEEN ISABELLA.

The beginnings of modern England are to be found in the failure to secure the French crown in the struggle of the Hundred Years' War. This fortunate event threw England back upon her island possessions; her kings became English kings with English aims, and her characteristic development was begun. The bitter contest between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, known as the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485), weakened the English nobility, and paved the way for the coming of a strong monarchy. The old

nobility was almost blotted out, with slaughter, exile, and impoverishment, and new families came to the front with less prestige and power, and less inclined to champion feudal rights against the rising monarchy. The common people, less affected by the wars, were advancing in trade and manufacture, and welcomed a strong hand at the helm of state. Parliament had declined in power and influence, and offered few obstacles to strong government. When Henry Tudor came to the throne as Henry VII (1485) the ground was cleared for the erection of a modern state.

SOURCE REVIEW

Revenues of the King of Spain.—Extract from the report of the Venetian ambassador to Spain: "From New Spain are obtained gold and silver, cochineal (little insects like flies), from which crimson dye is made, leather, cotton, sugar, and other things; but from Peru nothing is obtained except minerals. The fifth part of all that is produced goes to the king but since the gold and silver is brought to Spain, and he has a tenth part of all that which goes to the mint and is refined and coined, he eventually gets one-fourth of the whole sum, which fourth does not exceed in all four or five hundred thousand ducats, although it is commonly reckoned not alone at a million, but at millions of pounds.

"From these, his realms, his majesty receives every year an income of five millions of gold in time of peace: one and one-half millions from Spain; a half million from the Indies; one from Naples and Sicily, and another from Flanders and the Low Countries. But his expenses are six millions, and this excess is covered by extraordinary taxes according to his pleasure."

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(For Spain) Seebohm: *Era of Protestant Revolution*, pp. 34-40; Johnson: *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 91-106; Lodge: *The Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 468-493. (For England) Seebohm, pp. 46-55; Adams, *European History*, pp. 236-244; Green: *Short History of the English People*, pp. 281-288.

CHAPTER II

The Renaissance

§ 4. RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

The contribution of Italy to modern life was rather intellectual than political. Italy did not achieve a national unity after the manner of France, Spain, and England; with her, as with Germany, the separatist tendencies were too strong to be overcome. In the Middle Ages many cities in northern Italy threw off the feudal yoke and became little republics, devoted to commerce and industry. Toward the end of the Middle Ages the democratic spirit waned. With the accumulation of wealth derived from commerce with the East, Venice and Genoa lost their spirit of liberty. Republics in name, they became in fact oligarchies, suppressing the voice of the people. Other states, like Milan, lost their freedom through violence. As republics they permitted a decline of their military spirit, and relied for defense upon bands of mercenaries, led by professional captains, *condottieri*. These men in many instances seized upon the powers they were hired to protect.

Florence came by another route to the same end. A manufacturing city, thronged with artisans, the political progress of Florence was toward a greater degree of democracy. A clever political trickster, a genuine "boss," Cosimo de' Medici, holding no office in the state, succeeded, by means of money and persuasion, in getting control of the government, and, what is more remarkable, in passing this control to his descendants. There was no employment of force, and

Political
condition
of Italy.

Florence.

Cosimo's rule was endured, because it brought prosperity and splendor to Florence. In southern Italy the king-



COSIMO DE' MEDICI, 1389-1464.

dom of Naples, long a subject of dispute between France and Spain, was joined at last to the Spanish crown. Midway of the peninsula lay the Papal States. The Pope, their ruler, a spiritual lord throughout the rest of Christendom, was in the Papal States a temporal ruler as well. With his vague claims upon the lands of Italy, the Pope, in his Italian policy, was opposed to unity or to the erection of a power superior to his own.

The Renaissance, as its name implies, is a re-birth ; in this instance a re-birth of the old Greek and Roman manner of looking at man and the world in which he lives. It was, then, an escape from the narrowness of view which characterized the Middle Ages. The impetus toward the new ideas came from the recovery of the writings of the Greeks and Romans. It is not to be supposed that these writings were lost during the Middle Ages ; they were merely unappreciated. With the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire they came to share in the general abhorrence felt toward things of pagan origin. As the Middle Ages advanced, the peculiar type of mind, developed under the discipline of the church, had nothing in common with the literary products of Greece and Rome ; consequently they were neglected and left to moulder in the dusty corners of monastic libraries. When in Italy, with the general advance of culture, a higher order of intellect was developed which turned with sympathy to the life and

The
Renaissance.

thought of ancient times, the hidden treasures were soon brought to light. The man who typifies this higher development in Italy is Francesco Petrarch, 1304–1372, “the first modern scholar and man of letters.” To Petrarch we owe the recovery of many priceless Latin works, and his enthusiasm was communicated to others, who carried on the work: to Poggio, who explored the cloisters of Germany; and to Boccaccio, 1313–1375, who prepared books of mythology, classical geography and biography, for the better understanding of the works already recovered.

The revival of the Latin classics led rapidly to a desire for Greek. Students of Roman literature soon perceived

that in their higher development the Romans sought their inspiration from the Greeks. In

response to the Italian demand men of Byzantine culture came westward in Venetian and Genoese galleys, bringing with them a knowledge of ancient Greek and the manuscripts of the classical writings. Before the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, so much of Greek literature as still existed in the East had been transplanted into Italy. Thus, while the Latin manuscripts were res-

cued piecemeal from their dusty hiding-places, the literature of Greece was recovered with less toil. Its recovery led to an advance in philosophical speculation, and in the time of Cosimo de' Medici the Florentine Academy was established for the study and discussion of the works of Plato.



The effects of the discovery of the ancient literatures were far-reaching, and may be said to mark the opening of

the modern era. In the annals of Rome were portrayed a highly developed civil administration, and a complete system of laws. These afforded a stimulus to modern princes, striving to establish their authority against the trammels of the feudal system. The bold, inquiring spirit of Greek philosophy broke down the narrow imitations of medieval thought, hemmed in with the authority of the Schools. Men saw, in the exploits of the Greeks and Romans, such possibilities as were not dreamed of in the days when this world was thought to be little else than a dreary pilgrimage toward the life to come.

Effects of the
Renaissance.

With the revival of classical learning came a revival of classical art. The importance assigned to art in the life of the Greeks and Romans was reflected in the efforts of their Italian admirers, who eagerly sought and preserved such masterpieces as had escaped the pillage of Italian cities. The group of the Laocoön, the Apollo of the Belvidere, and other triumphs of Greek art revealed new possibilities of pictorial representation to the artists who flourished under the patronage of wealthy popes and princes. The works of Raphael, 1483-1520, and of Michael Angelo, 1475-1564, in painting and in sculpture were the results.

Art of the
Renaissance.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. The making of a library.—Extract from *Vespasiano's Life of Cosimo de' Medici*: "XII. When he had finished the residence and a good part of the church, he fell to thinking how he should have the place peopled with honest men of letters; and in this way it occurred to him to found a fine library; and one day, when I happened to be present in his chamber, he said to me, "In what way would you furnish this library?" I replied that as for buying the books it would be impossible, for they were not to be had. Then he said: "How is it possible, then, to furnish it?" I told him

that it would be necessary to have the books copied. He asked in reply if I would be willing to undertake the work. I answered him that I was willing. He told me to commence my work and he would leave everything to me ; and as for the money that would be necessary, he would refer the matter to Don Archangel, then prior of the monastery, who would draw bills upon the bank, which should be paid. The library was commenced at once, for it was his pleasure that it should be done with the utmost possible celerity, and as I did not lack for money, I collected in a short time forty-five writers, and finished 200 volumes in twenty-two months ; in which work we made use of an excellent arrangement, that of the library of Pope Nicholas, which he had given to Cosimo, in the form of a catalogue made out with his own hands."

(Noble and wealthy book collectors looked with suspicion upon the new printed books. Vespasiano, speaking of the library of the Duke of Urbino, says : "All the volumes are of perfect beauty, are written by skilled scribes, on parchment, and many of them adorned with exquisite miniatures. The collection does not contain a single printed book. The Duke would be ashamed to have a printed book in his library."

Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, a German scholar, writes (1494): "A work written on parchment could be preserved a thousand years, while it is probable that no volume printed on paper will last for more than two centuries. Many important works have not been printed, and the copies required of these must be prepared by scribes. The scribe who ceases his labors because of the invention of the printing-press can be no true lover of books, in that, regarding only the present, he gives no due thought to the intellectual cultivation of succeeding generations. The printer has no care for beauty and the artistic form of books, while with the scribe this is a labor of love.")

REFERENCES

Paul Van Dyke: *The Age of the Renaissance*, Chapters XI and XII ; Adams: *European History*, pp. 259-282 ; Seeböhm: *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 66-74. For the political history of Italy in the Renaissance period see Lodge: *The Close of the Middle Ages*, Chapters VIII, XIV.

5. THE RENAISSANCE NORTH OF THE ALPS

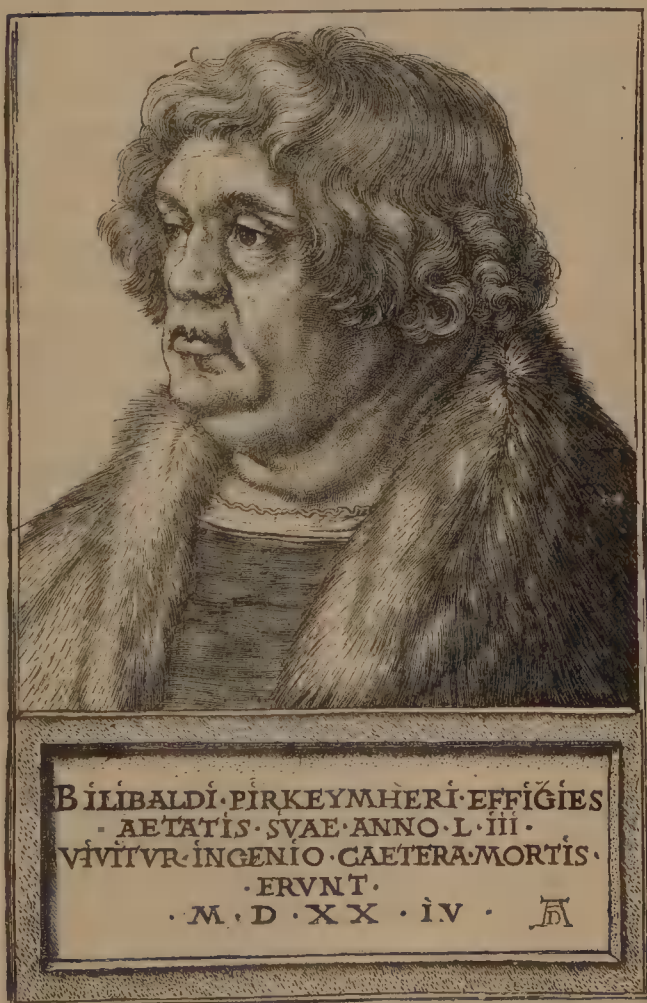
Italy was the first country of Europe to receive the new light. This was largely due to the accumulation of wealth in the Italian cities, the result of commerce and industry; because wealth gives leisure, and leisure turns toward the refinement of life. The same conditions were slower in reaching Germany, but about the middle of the fifteenth century the South German cities, enriched with the trade in Eastern goods, which crossed the Alps from Venice and found their way down the Rhine, began to take an interest in the intellectual development of the South. Young men of German patrician families sought the universities of Pavia and Bologna, and brought back to Germany the new Latin and Greek culture.

The New Learning, as it came to Germany, was modified by the character and ideals of the German people. A simple folk, with deep religious feeling, the Germans did not follow the subtle Italians into the intricacies of Platonic philosophy; their earnest and practical minds sought rather to apply the principles of the New Learning to the affairs of life. The fifteenth century saw a reorganization of the school system. The towns were thronged with students, many of them subsisting from public charity. Throughout the German lands, from Holland to Switzerland, and from the Rhine to Silesia, the impulse toward a higher education seemed to permeate all classes of society. Men of Italian learning set themselves to work to produce text-books, to replace the clumsy medieval manuals with books better adapted for the instruction of youth. The study of Greek and even of Hebrew was introduced into the preparatory schools.

In Germany the universities were the centers of the New Learning. Many of them sprang into existence in

response to the new spirit ; and in all of them the mediæval course of study was much modified. Students deserted the lecture-rooms of the professors of theology and law, and flocked to the “Humanities,” greatly to the disgust of the older instructors, who were dependent for their income upon the tuition-money paid by the students. Some of the univer-

The
universities.



A GERMAN PATRICIAN.

sities, in which the theological element was the stronger, held out vigorously against the new tendencies. Such was Cologne, where the influence of the Dominican order was supreme. Erfurt, on the contrary, was wholly given to the New Learning, and Heidelberg was favorably inclined.

In France conditions were unfavorable to the reception of the New Learning. The nobles were interested in

The
Renaissance
in France.

military exploits and the exercise of arms. and little disposed toward letters. Besides this, the University of Paris, the greatest of

all universities, had been for centuries the stronghold of conservative theology, a source of authority in doctrinal matters second only to Rome itself. As such it was not likely to look with favor upon an intellectual movement, the chief spirit of which was that of questioning and criticism. The artistic side of the Renaissance appealed more strongly to the French, and its influence is to be found in the palatial buildings erected by French kings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, those "*châteaux*" which have been the admiration of posterity.

In England the movement had a deeper meaning. The spirit of criticism which scholarly Englishmen imbibed

The
Renaissance
in England.

in foreign travel and study, particularly in Italy, increased their dissatisfaction with the institutions of the medieval church. The

University of Oxford became the center of a movement looking toward a reform of the clergy and a reorganization of the schools. John Colet, who founded St. Paul's School in London (1510), and Thomas More, who became Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII, were the leaders of the Oxford group. They sought, in careful study of the New Testament and of the early Christian writers, to learn the true character of the early church, that later errors might be corrected and removed.

The finest product and best representative of the deeper spirit of the Renaissance was Desiderius Erasmus of Rot-

terdam. Although of Dutch birth, he was a citizen of the Christian world. His education was acquired in Germany, later at the University of Paris and in England. A close friend of Colet and

Erasmus
(1467-1536).

More during his English residence at the close of the fifteenth century, he entered with zeal into their projects of reform, and this became the leading motive of his life. His years

were full of literary labors. His translation of the New Testament from Greek into Latin opened the way for a closer study of the sacred texts. The influence of his popular writings was even wider. In the *Praise of Folly* and the *Familiar Colloquies* he scourged with a bitter pen the shortcomings of the clergy, and by these means, no doubt, prepared the way for Luther. Indeed, his enemies said with



ERASMUS.

much truth that "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." Yet his sympathies were not with Luther. He loved the church of Rome and sought its reformation; and when he saw that Luther's movement tended to break the church in two, he recoiled, with the great body of Humanists, from a remedy which seemed to him more fatal than the disease it sought to cure.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. German idea of higher learning. From the *Adolescentia* of Jacob Wimpheling: "Everyone should strive for learning and virtue, which alone confer nobility. The youth,

therefore, especially when he comes of distinguished parents, should be frequently reminded that he should value the soul's advantage and not the gifts of fortune and physical accomplishments. Each day he should exert himself, in order that he may not become an awkward, stupid, foolish, wanton fellow, as in our day most of the noble-born are; but that he shall be intelligent and educated; that he be well instructed from his youth and not ignorant of the humanities; that he shall apply himself to the reading of the Holy Writ; that he may be well-bred, just, gentle, and pious, and a friend of clever, cultured men."

II. Italian opinion of the French at the beginning of the sixteenth century. From *The Courtier* of Baldassare Castiglione (an English translation of 1588).—"But besides goodness the true and principall ornament of the minde in every man (I believe) are letters, although ye Frenchmen know only the nobleness of armes, and passe for nothing beside; so that they not only doe not set by letters, but they rather abhorre them and all learned men they doe count very rascalles, and they think it a great villany when any one of them is called a clarke."

III. Extract from letter of Erasmus, 1518, renewing progress of learning in Germany on the eve of the Reformation: "Learning is springing up all round out of the soil; languages, physics, mathematics, each department thriving. Even theology is showing signs of improvement. All looks brighter now. Three languages are publicly taught in the schools. I myself, insignificant I, have contributed something. I have at least stirred the bile of those who would not have the world grow wiser, and only fools now snarl at me. . . . But the clouds are passing away. My share in the work must be near finished. I do not want the popular theology to be abolished. I want it enriched and enlarged from earlier sources. When the theologians know more of Holy Scriptures, they will find their consequence undiminished, perhaps increased. All promises well, so far as I can see. My chief fear is that with the revival of Greek literature there may be a revival of paganism. There are Christians who are Christians only in name, and are Gentiles at heart; and, again, the study of Hebrew may lead to Judaism, which

would be worse still. I wish there could be an end of scholastic subtleties, or, if not an end, that they could be thrust into a second place, and Christ be taught plainly and simply. The reading of the Bible and the Early Fathers will have this effect. Doctrines are taught now which have no affinity with Christ and only darken our eyes."

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Paul van Dyke : *Age of the Renaissance*, Chapters XIV and XX. (For Erasmus) J. A. Froude : *Life and Letters of Erasmus* (many letters translated); Merrick Whitcomb : *Select Colloquies of Erasmus*.

§ 6. INVENTION AND DISCOVERY

The widening of the intellectual horizon led to invention and discovery. If this life were worth the living, as

the Greeks and Romans thought, then it was worth while to make it as good and grand as possible. The chains of authority which bound the medieval man were broken, and free range given to individual effort. As a result, the end of the fifteenth century was marked by inventions and by material progress, which are the true indications of the modern spirit.

For centuries the sailor was the slave of the land. Even after he had learned to steer his course by the stars, the dangers of cloudy nights and foggy days limited his voyages. Even in the Mediterranean navigators crept



SHIP. TIME OF FIRST ATLANTIC VOYAGES.

from cape to cape. The magnetic needle was known to the Chinese from high antiquity. Its use came westward, transmitted by the Arabs, perhaps, and reached the Mediterranean sometime about the period of the second Crusade (1150). At first the needle, floating freely on the surface of water, could only be used in times of calm. Step by step it was improved—mounted upon a pivot, set in gimbals, to neutralize the action of the waves—and in the fourteenth century it became a practical instrument of navigation. To this invention is due our knowledge of two-thirds of the world; thanks to this infallible guide, the sailor could now entrust himself without fear to the trackless wastes of the high seas.

As early as the tenth century the Chinese practised the art of reproducing writing by impression; and in the first half of the fifteenth century books were made after this manner in Europe. Whole pages were cut in wood, and from each engraved block a number of copies were printed. The next great step was the invention of movable letters. This came about the middle of the fifteenth century, and is generally ascribed to Gutenberg of Mayence. Even this advance, however, did not constitute printing in its modern form. The engraving of the separate types was still a matter of great expense. It was the casting of the movable types that brought the art to perfection. Thus, with a single engraved mould, a vast number of types could be cheaply made. About the same time was invented type-metal, a mixture of lead and antimony, strong enough to resist pressure, yet not sharp enough to cut the paper. It is also said that Gutenberg invented the printing-press. Formerly the paper was laid upon the types and pressed against them with a brush or tool called “frotton.” Printing was the gift of Germany to the Renaissance.

The ancient world used *papyrus* made from an Egyptian rush-like plant, for its books; also parchment, made

from the skins of animals. In the Middle Ages these materials were dear, and it is to their high cost that the destruction of classical manuscripts is due, the parchments on which they were written having been used a second time for literary purposes. Cotton paper was introduced from the East by the Venetians in the tenth century. It was heavy, spongy, and dark, and ill-adapted for permanent records. In 1221 the Emperor Frederick forbade its use for official writings, ordering them to be copied upon parchment. Finally, toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, the use of linen rags furnished a material that could be indefinitely renewed. Without a satisfactory paper, at a moderate price, the invention of printing would not have been such a boon to humanity.

The Middle Ages made little progress in geographical knowledge. Life centered about the Mediterranean; to the West beyond was the trackless ocean, where the evening sun extinguished its fires. Timid mariners, venturing beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, feared to follow the African coast to the southward. The heat increased, it was thought, and made life impossible; the sea became thick and impassable on account of the rapid evaporation. It was only when Portugal, shut off from expansion inland by the rise of Spain, turned her energy toward the sea that the fancied obstacles were overcome. Prince Henry the Navigator, collecting all existing information regarding the west coast of Africa, pushed the exploration southward. Step by step the coast was won. In 1450 the name of Cape Verde, given to the limit of exploration, expresses the surprise of mariners at finding verdure where life was thought to be impossible. In 1452 the Gulf of Guinea was reached, and the zest for gold added to the love of adventure. In 1487 Diaz, reaching the extreme point of Africa, was blown around the Cape of Good Hope. Finally, in 1497,

Paper.

Portuguese
discoveries.

Vasco da Gama, doubling the Cape, reached Mozambique, and opened a new route to the Indies.

Very different from the series of ventures just chronicled was the daring project of Columbus. It is his faith in his ideas and his power in action that mark Columbus as a high type of the modern man. His purpose, "to seek the Orient by means of the Occident," was inspired by the words of Aristotle :



TERRORS OF THE DEEP.

"The earth is round, but at the same time it is not very large." With this in mind, he calculated the distance from Europe to India to be 90 degrees, or 1,100 Spanish leagues, about five weeks' sailing for vessels of his time. Fortunately he did not know that it was more than twice as far, or four months' journey. For such an expedition he would not have found a company, even if his own courage had been equal to the venture. Aided by

the sovereigns of Spain, he found his Indies, as he supposed, and "gave a new world to Castile and Leon." In 1519 Spanish ships, under the command of the Portuguese Magellan, circumnavigated the earth, thereby actually demonstrating its sphericity.

Medieval conceptions of the universe, like those of the terrestrial globe, yielded to the questioning instinct of the new age. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Copernicus, a Polish astronomer, in his work upon the revolutions of the celestial spheres, affirmed that the sun was a fixed star, surrounded by planets, of which the earth was one; described the double movement of the earth's motion, and fixed the position of the moon as a satellite of the earth. As a corollary of his conclusions, the earth was no longer the center of the universe, nor man the prime object of creation. Fearful of the effect of his discoveries, seeming, as they did, to oppose the teaching and tradition of the church, Copernicus delayed the publication of his book until his death in 1543.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. The primitive compass; from a description by Vincent de Beauvais in the twelfth century.—"When the mariners are unable to find the course that should conduct them safe into port, they rub the point of a needle upon the magnet, fasten it to a straw, and place it in a vessel of water, around which they carry the magnet. The point of the needle turns ever toward the magnet, and when by this means they have made the needle turn completely around, then they take away the magnet all at once. Thereupon the point of the needle turns toward the star, and moves not thence."

II. Columbus's account of his first voyage. San Domingo.—"The lands are high, and there are many very lofty mountains. They are all most beautiful, of a thousand different shapes, accessible, and covered with trees of a thousand kinds, of such great height that they seem to reach the skies.

I am told that the trees never lose their foliage, and I can well understand it, for I observed that they were as green and luxuriant as in Spain in the month of May. Some were in bloom, others bearing fruit, and others otherwise according to their nature. The nightingale was singing, as well as other birds of a thousand different kinds ; and that in November, the month in which I myself was roaming among them. There are palm-trees of six or eight kinds, wonderful in their beautiful variety ; but this is the case with all the other trees and fruits and grasses ; trees, plants, or fruits filled us with admiration. It contains extraordinary pine groves, and very extensive plains. There is also honey, a great variety of birds, and many different kinds of fruits. In the interior there are many mines of metal and a population innumerable. . . . It is extremely rich in gold ; and I bring with me Indians taken from these different islands, who will testify to all these things. Finally, and speaking only of what has taken place in this voyage, which has been so hasty, their Highnesses may see that I shall give them all the gold they require, if they will give me but a very little assistance ; spices also, and cotton, as much as their Highnesses shall command to be shipped ; aloes-wood, as much as their Highnesses shall command to be shipped ; slaves, as many of these idolators as their Highnesses shall command to be shipped. I think also I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall find a thousand other valuable things by means of the men I have left behind me, for I tarried at no point so long as the wind allowed me to proceed.

REFERENCES

Adams : *European History*, pp. 273-282.



ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

CHAPTER III

The Reformation

§ 7. PERIOD OF THE COUNCILS

IN the contest of Philip the Fair with Boniface VIII the papacy, which had for centuries been the supreme influence in European affairs, suffered defeat at the hands of the modern government of France. Boniface was assaulted by French agents in his palace, and died of chagrin. After his death French influence secured the election of a series of French popes, who removed the seat of papal power to Avignon on the Rhône, where it remained for seventy years under

Decline of
the papacy.

French control. This period is called the "Babylonian Captivity." Finally, in 1377, Gregory XI, yielding to the entreaties of the Christian world, and moved as well by the decay of his power in the Papal States during the absence at Avignon, returned to Rome. But matters went from bad to worse. Upon the death of Gregory, the cardinals, vacillating between Roman and French influences, elected first Urban VI, who took his seat at Rome; then Clement VII, who returned to Avignon. This was the beginning of the Great Schism of the West, which endured until 1417. The prestige of the papacy was greatly weakened. It was inconceivable to Christian men that there should be two heads of the church, two successors of St. Peter. Christendom was divided in its allegiance, some nations holding to Urban, others to Clement.

One result of the schism was to give free rein to independent thinkers. Wyclif (1327-1384), in England, voiced the sentiments of a party of his compatriots, who were jealous of the interference of the papal power in England, desiring to cut their island off from Roman control. The debasement of the papacy was Wyclif's opportunity, and he came forward as the champion of English independence. Although he was condemned by a council of English prelates, and although his party did not succeed in establishing the ecclesiastical independence of England, yet the movement of which he was the spiritual leader produced a series of legislative acts, which greatly limited the exercise of papal authority in England.

The ideas of Wyclif were carried to the continent, and reached a fuller development in Bohemia, under the leadership of John Huss (1369-1415) and Jerome of Prague. Bohemia was for many years a seat of armed rebellion against the church, and it was only by means of substantial concessions that the Bohemian heretics were finally brought to submit themselves to the Roman See.

Results of
the schism:
heresy.

Another result of the schism was the formation of a party of reform. Conservative men, who loved the church, set to work to remedy its misfortunes. The center of the reform party was in France, its leaders, John Gerson and Peter d'Ailly, both of them associated with the University of Paris. They sought, first of all, to heal the schism, to restore a single head to the divided church. In this they were successful only after many struggles. Their first effort was to bring about a simultaneous resignation of the two popes, and then to proceed with a clear field to a new election. This the rival popes were unwilling to do. A general council of the church was then called by the combined colleges of cardinals, who had abandoned their respective popes. This was the Council of Pisa, where the rival popes were deposed, and a new pope elected in their place. The new pope did not, however, meet with general obedience. Christendom doubted the authority of a council called without the voice of either emperor or pope. Thus the Council of Pisa brought it about that three popes reigned instead of two (1409).

But the reformers persevered. In 1414 circumstances were more favorable. Sigismund, the Emperor, and John XXIII, pope of the Pisan line, joined in summoning a council at Constance, beyond the Alps. The first act of the council was to clear the field of papal claimants. Gregory XII voluntarily resigned; the others were deposed, and for more than two years the council remained at the head of the church, the papal See being vacant.

The council next turned its attention to the extirpation of the Bohemian heresy. John Huss was summoned from Prague, and came to Constance, bearing letters of safe-conduct from the emperor. He was tried for heresy and condemned; and when, after long and persistent efforts had been made to convince him of his errors, he remained

obstinate, he was stripped of his priestly garb and, in a penitent's gown, turned over to the temporal authorities. By them he was burned at the stake, in accordance with the general law for the punishment of heretics, and his ashes cast into the Rhine. Sigismund had some doubt about this treatment of his safe-conduct ; but was assured



BURNING OF JOHN HUSS.

by the theological doctors that no contract with a heretic could be binding.

In 1417, when impending wars seemed likely to interrupt the council, that body proceeded to the election of a pope, upon whom it might confer its authority. Its choice was a member of the Roman family of Colonna, who came to the throne as Martin V. The first great object of the reform party was fulfilled: the papacy was restored ; Christendom acknowledged the new pope.

The aims of the reformers, however, were wider. Fearing a return of disorders in the papacy, they sought to make the council a supreme governing body in the church, providing by decree for a succession of councils at stated intervals. This the popes, their power being restored, jealous of a limitation of their authority, resisted, and neglected the assembling of the councils. Tenacious of their ideas, the reform party again came forward and forced the pope to summon a new council at Basel in 1431. Seeking to assert its supremacy, the Council of Basel quarreled with Pope Eugene IV and deposed him, as had been done with the earlier popes at Constance. But the verdict of Christendom was with the pope against the council. With the papacy on the verge of ruin a council might intervene; but with the head of the church well established the sympathy of Christians was with the pope. Pope Eugene won; the Council of Basel dwindled into insignificance, and the conciliar idea, the supremacy of the councils over the papacy, vanished with the necessity which called it forth.

In addition to the restoration of the papacy and the establishment of the authority of the councils, the reform party had still another aim: the purification of the church from certain abuses which had grown up along with the widening of the church's influence and work. It is not to be supposed that these abuses were in the nature of personal immorality. It is altogether likely that the clergy, rank for rank, were better than any other class of people of the time, and that the institutions of the church were more wisely and cleanly conducted than the institutions of laymen.

The real abuses against which the reformers protested were connected with the finances of the Roman court. During the Middle Ages, when the church had a general oversight of the affairs of Christendom, the Roman court had come to be the great clearing-house for the public

business of western Europe. The thousand clerks and secretaries who performed this work must be paid, and an elaborate system of fees grew up, which drew to Rome the



HUSSITE WARS IN BOHEMIA.

money of Christendom, much to the dissatisfaction of local princes, who wished to collect this money for their own needs. More than this, the papacy, to increase its income, assumed the right of granting fat church livings throughout Europe to high officials who remained at Rome and left the livings vacant. Thus the offices of the church were neglected; churches fell into ruins because their

incomes were diverted to Rome. Out of this system grew two evils: the money of Christendom was drained away to Rome; and the offices of the church abroad were unfilled.

SOURCE REVIEW

I.—The Financial Abuse.—Extract from the *Downfall of the Church*, by Nicholas Clemanges, one of the Reform Party: "To the same cause is to be ascribed the ruin of numerous churches and monasteries and the leveling with the ground, in so many places, of sacred edifices, while the money which used to go for their restoration is exhausted in paying these taxes. But it even happens, as some well know, that holy relics in not a few churches, crosses, chalices, feretories, and other precious articles, go to make up this tribute."

II.—Extracts from Decrees of the Council of Constance :

1. *From the Decree "Sacrosancta," establishing the supreme authority of the Council.*—"It first declares that this same council, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a general council, and representing the Catholic Church militant, has its power immediately from Christ, and everyone, even if it be the papal dignity itself, is bound to obey it in all those things which pertain to the faith and the healing of the said schism, and to the general reformation of the Church of God, in head and members."

2. *From the Decree "Frequens," arranging for regular future councils.*—"Therefore, by a perpetual edict, we sanction, decree, establish, and ordain that general councils shall be celebrated in the following manner, so that the next one shall follow the close of this present council at the end of five years. The second one shall follow the close of that, at the end of seven years, and councils shall thereafter be celebrated every ten years in such places as the pope shall be required to designate and assign, with the consent and approbation of the council, one month before the close of the council in question, and which, in his absence, the council itself shall designate. Thus, with a certain continuity, a council will always be either in session, or be expected at the expiration of a definite time."

III.—Popes of the Great Schism*Roman Line.*

Urban VI,
1378-1389.

Boniface IX,
1389-1404.

Innocent VII,
1404-1406.

Gregory XII,
1406-1415
(resigned).

Council of Pisa (1409) deposed
Gregory XII and Benedict
XIII and elected Alexander
V, 1409-1410.

John XXIII, 1410-1415 (de-
posed).

The Council of Constance (1414)
accepted resignation of Greg-
ory XII, deposed John XXIII,
and elected Martin V, 1417-
1431.

Avignon Line.

Clement VII,
1378-1394.

Benedict XIII,
1394-1424.

Clement VIII,
1424-1429
(resigned).

REFERENCES

Adams : *European History*, pp. 283-288 ; Paul van Dyke : *Age of the Renaissance*, Chapters VII, VIII, IX ; Lodge : *The Close of the Middle Ages*, Chapters IX, X, XI.

§ 8. THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

The failure of the effort for reform occasioned widespread dissatisfaction throughout northern Europe ; but nowhere so much as in Germany, where the lack of a strong central government exposed the country to the exploitation of the Roman financial system. To the hatred of Italian control thus aroused was added the spirit of intellectual independence, the product of the Renaissance. The Reformation is to be regarded as an application of the Renaissance spirit to religion, a rejection of authority in this particular sphere, as it had been rejected in others ; a splitting up into groups, as a result of the exercise of the right of critical investigation in religious as in secular matters. At length

Causes of the
Reformation.

a champion of this right of intellectual and spiritual freedom came forth in the person of Martin Luther.



MARTIN LUTHER.

Luther (1483-1546) was the son of a humble family. His father was a miner in Thuringia.

Thanks to the ambition of his parents, no pains were spared in his education. At the humanistic university of Erfurt he acquired such education as Germany afforded. His nature was

deeply religious, and during his Erfurt residence he abandoned his professional career and became an Augustinian

monk. But his abilities were too marked to escape notice, and he was invited to the newly founded university of Wittenberg, in Electoral Saxony, where he became professor of theology. In the development of his religious views Luther was attracted to the doctrine of "justification by faith," as set forth by St. Augustine, in whose honor the order of which Luther was a member had received its name.

The church of the Middle Ages, while by no means neglecting the element of faith, had departed from the Augustinian system, in laying a stronger emphasis upon the efficacy of "works" in securing eventual salvation. By works are to be understood the various duties, penitential and otherwise, prescribed by the clergy. No doubt, for the medieval man these tangible means of securing the soul's well-being were quite as effectual as a more spiritual method. A man of Luther's character, however, confident of his ability to achieve his soul's salvation through direct contact with the Divine Spirit, rejected these material means of justification, and laid the emphasis upon faith, by means of which this contact might be assured. Here are to be seen the workings of the individualistic tendency, the personality of man's relation with God; the rejection of that authority by which the church sought to guide Heavenward the lives of men by constant ministrations.

This sentiment was strengthened by Luther's visit to Rome in 1510. As he approached the Eternal City, after a weary journey, he cried aloud his greeting to the "city sanctified with the blood of the holy martyrs." But the result of his journey was bitterness. He was shocked at the luxury and cynicism of the place. It was the ever-present antagonism of the rustic toward the town, intensified with the enormous contrast between German and Italian life and culture. With Luther embroidered garments and marble palaces were evidences of

Justification by
faith or works.

Visit to Rome.

vice ; he thought this splendor out of place in the successor of the meek and lowly Saviour. It must be remembered that, in the minds of all German thinkers of the sixteenth century, luxury of living was regarded as a departure from virtue.

An event was needed to fire the train of discontent, and this was furnished by the publication of a special indulgence for the building of St. Peter's church at Rome. The contributions of the faithful were solicited for this purpose, and in return a letter of grace and pardon was conferred, by means of which certain penalties of sin were removed, providing always that the applicant had previously with contrite heart confessed his sin and received absolution from the priest. Luther's antagonism was aroused by this indulgence for the following reasons :

1. With the emphasis which he placed upon faith as a means of grace he was inclined against the system of indulgences, although not yet prepared to deny wholly their efficacy.

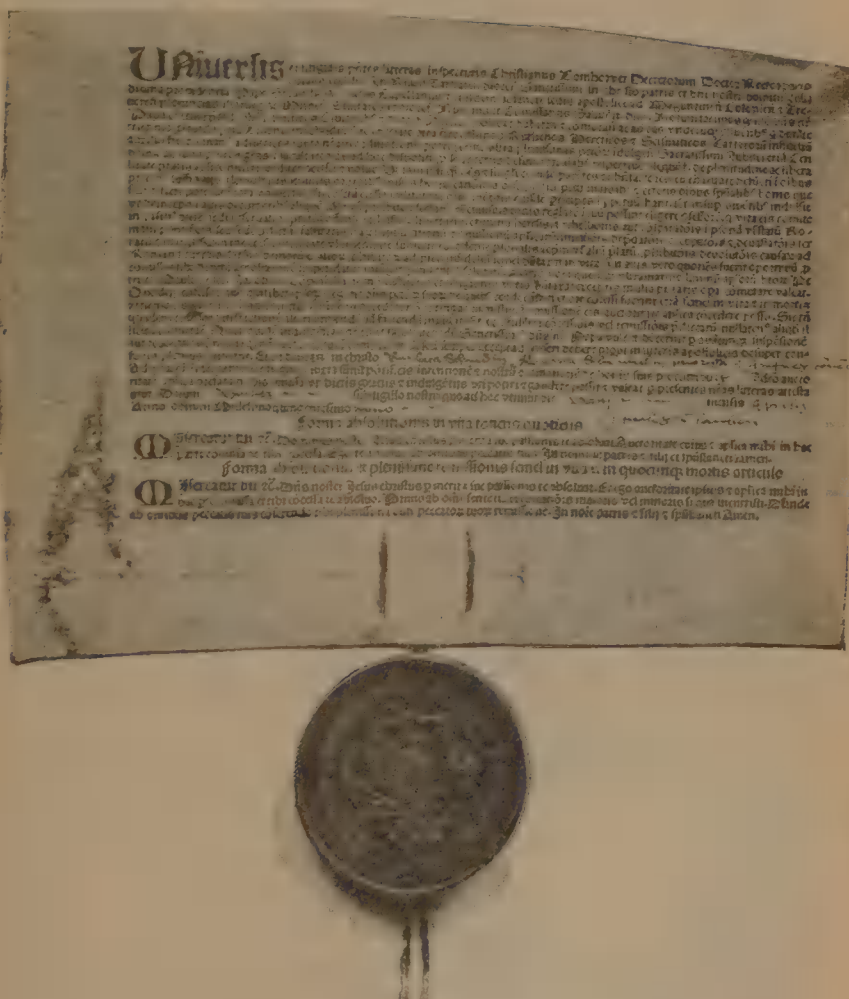
2. He was enraged at the financial exploitation of the country, the drain of wealth toward Rome.

3. The sale of this general indulgence must have interfered with the proceeds of a local indulgence at Wittenberg, which contributed to the support of the religious institutions connected with the university.

4. He believed that Tetzel, who had charge of the sale of the indulgence in the neighborhood of Wittenberg, was claiming virtues for the indulgence beyond what the theory of the church justified.

Moved by these considerations, Luther, on October 31, 1517, following a well-established university custom, posted upon the door of the castle church at Wittenberg, Ninety-five Theses, criticizing the indulgence and the manner and motives of its sale. The Ninety-five Theses were the first blow in the great battle of the Reformation ; but Luther

did not intend them as such. He had no idea of breaking away from the church, and was dismayed at the storm he had raised. The truth is, Germany was ripe for revolt, and needed only the signal.



AN INDULGENCE.

Pope Leo X was not disposed to give the matter his attention. It was merely a quarrel of monks, he said; but when he was at length persuaded of its gravity, he sum-

moned Luther to Rome. Fortunately for Luther, his prince and patron, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, intervened, requesting a hearing for Luther in Germany. A hearing was accorded, and many efforts made from the papal side to quiet Luther, but none of them were permanently successful. A temporary truce was broken by Dr. Eck, an eminent German scholar, who espoused the cause of the papacy, and tempted Luther into more radical admissions at the Disputation of Leipzig (1519). Meanwhile Luther had studied much and developed his ideas; and now wrote vigorously against the papacy, rousing the German nation to a breach with Rome. His pamphlets called forth a bull of excommunication from Pope Leo, which Luther promptly burned

Luther driven to
revolt.

in public, a formal declaration that his ties with Rome were broken.

The Emperor Charles V, who succeeded his grandfather

The Diet at
Worms.

Maximilian
in 1519, un-

dertook to silence the controversy. Luther was commanded to appear before him at the Diet of 1521, held at Worms, the first Diet convened by the Emperor since his election. The Emperor was Spanish bred, without sympathy with German sentiment or a knowledge of German conditions.



EMPEROR CHARLES V. AT THE TIME
OF HIS ELECTION (1519).

Luther had no chance with Charles; but his figure, as he stood there, a single man before that mighty concourse,



· CHRISTO · SACRVM ·

· ILLE · DEI · VERBO · MAGNA · PIETATE · FAVEBAT ·
· PERPETVA · DIGNVS · POSTERITATE · COLI ·

· D · FRIDR · DVCI · SAXON · S · R · IMP ·
· ARCHIM · ELECTORI ·

· ALBERTVS · DVRER · NVR · FACIEBAT ·

· B · M · F · V · V ·

· M · D · XXIII ·

FREDERICK THE WISE, ELECTOR OF SAXONY. LUTHER'S PROTECTOR.

confronting an Emperor, lord of half the world, was heroic. When called upon to retract he replied that, until he was persuaded of the error of his way, he could not retire from the position he had taken.

According to the terms of the Emperor's safe-conduct Luther was permitted to retire from Worms ; but Charles launched against him the *Decree of Worms*, placing him under the ban of the Empire, and ordering the destruction of his books. Meanwhile his friends, fearing to defy openly the imperial authority, hurried him to a place of safety in the castle of Wartburg, where he remained in seclusion until the following spring.

The *Decree of Worms* was never carried out. Foreign complications and domestic difficulties kept Charles from proceeding against Luther. More than once the Emperor was forced to ask aid of the Protestant princes, Luther's protectors, against the French and Turks. When at length the opportunity came it was too late ; Germany was divided into two great hostile camps—the Lutherans and the Catholics.

SOURCE REVIEW

I.—The Value of Indulgences.—Extract from a sermon by Tetzel: "How many mortal sins are committed in a day, how many in a week, how many in a month, how many in a year, how many in the whole extent of life? They are well-nigh numberless, and they that commit them must needs suffer endless punishment in the burning pains of purgatory.

"But with these confessional letters you will be able at any time in life to obtain indulgence for all penalties imposed upon you, in all cases except the four reserved to the Apostolic See. Therefore, throughout your whole life, whenever you wish to make confession, you may receive the same remission, except in cases reserved to the Pope, and afterward, at the hour of death, a full indulgence as to all penalties and sins and your share of all spiritual blessings that exist in the church militant and all its members.

"Do you know that when it is necessary for any one to go

to Rome, or undertake any other dangerous journey, he takes his money to a broker and gives a certain per cent.—five or six or ten—in order that at Rome or elsewhere he may receive again his funds intact, by means of the letter of this same broker? Are you not willing, then, for the fourth part of a florin, to obtain these letters, by virtue of which you may bring, not your money, but your divine and immortal soul, safe and sound into the land of Paradise? ”

II.—The Journey to Worms.—Relation of Luther: “ The little city of Wittenberg was in the utmost consternation when the imperial summons arrived. Apprehensive for my safety, my beloved fellow citizens crowded to my residence, and would have dissuaded me from entertaining the idea for a moment of thus wilfully putting myself into the hands of my enemies. They besought me to recollect that I lived for them as well as for myself ; that my life was of more importance to them than that of a thousand popes ; that I would be seized by my adversaries, and sacrificed to their vengeance. They reminded me of those holy martyrs, Huss and Jerome, whose safe-conducts had been violated without scruple. I heard my beloved friends in all their remonstrances ; and while I admitted the truth of all they advanced, I nevertheless resolved to obey the Emperor’s mandate, and appear before that great assembly of dukes, barons, counts, knights, and other noblemen, both temporal and spiritual. ‘ I am called,’ I said to them ; ‘ it is decreed and ordered that I proceed to Worms, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ ; and thither I shall go, if there were as many devils in that city as there are tiles on its houses. Were I to refuse, my enemies would not only triumph, but ascribe my conduct to cowardice, and that I was not able to maintain what I had so often asserted. Fear in my case would only be a suggestion of Satan, who, apprehending the approaching ruin of his kingdom, was anxious to avoid a public defeat before such a great and illustrious assembly as that of Worms.’ ”

REFERENCES

Adams : *European History*, pp. 303–315 ; Seeböhm : *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 94–130 ; Myers : *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 363–370 ; Johnson : *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 153–160.

§ 9. THE LATER REFORMATION

The blow struck by Luther against spiritual authority was felt throughout Europe. Among the Germanic peoples the revolt was most complete. The Swiss Switzerland. of Zürich under the leadership of Huldreich Zwingli, threw off the allegiance to Rome (1524) and were followed by other Swiss cities and cantons. Zwingli differed from Luther in many points of doctrine, and all efforts to unite the two Protestant factions were unavailing. The Zürich reformation led to civil war in Switzerland, with the result that each canton was permitted to select its own religion, and this division between Catholic and Protestant has survived down to the present day.

The right of individual interpretation, championed by Luther, led to the rise of numerous sects in Germany. Many, particularly of the lower classes, where life was hard under the old conditions, looked forward to a reconstruction of society, along the lines of equality and universal brotherhood, such as they thought to find in the spirit and organization of the primitive church. The leaders of these sects, repelled by the conservatism of Luther, who saw in this Utopian movement the seeds of anarchy and the destruction of his own cause, scattered among the peasantry, and by their preaching brought about a social and agrarian revolution, the Peasants' War of 1525, in which the peasants were defeated and flung back into a still deeper abyss of serfdom.

At the outbreak of the Lutheran revolt the English King, Henry VIII, espoused the papal cause, wrote a book against Luther, and in recognition of his orthodoxy received from the pope the special title of "Defender of the Faith." Reasons of state brought a change in Henry's views. Desiring to perpetu- England.

ate his line with a male heir, he sought from the pope an annulment of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The pope refused to grant the king's request, and Henry procured his release at the hands of an English ecclesiastical court, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Resenting this defiance of his power, Pope Clement VII launched a bull of excommunication against Henry VIII, and in the controversy that ensued English independence of Rome again asserted itself, and a vote of Parliament proclaimed the king "the only Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England (1535)."



HENRY VIII.

Although this step made England independent of the papacy, yet it did not immediately change the character of the English religion. In England the political changes came first and the change in doctrine and method of worship afterward. During Henry's reign the forms and spirit of religion suffered little change. In the brief reign of his successor, Edward VI, a child at the time of his accession to the throne, the Lutheran spirit made itself manifest. The English Prayer-Book was introduced and church services conducted in the English tongue. Edward was followed on the throne, in default of male heirs, by his sister Mary, (1553), daughter of Catharine of Aragon, and a devoted Catholic. With the assistance of the Catholic party Queen Mary sought to restore the old faith; but her effort, if indeed it could have been successful under any circumstances, was rendered doubly unpopular by her marriage with Philip II of Spain, which aroused the

English jealousy of foreign interference and control. After a short reign Mary was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth (1558), who easily restored Protestant institutions and her own supremacy in the church. In her reign Protestantism became the religion of the English people.

The religion thus established in England was more conservative than the reformed religions of the continent, and preserved more generally the forms of the ancient church. It satisfied, however, the desire for church re-

form, long since demanded by Wyclif and others. It preserved an ecclesiastical hierarchy, but made it national, freeing it from foreign dictation. The English reformation was the joint work of people and sovereign.



JOHN CALVIN.

John Calvin.—The career of Calvin offers many points of contrast with the career of Luther. Luther was a pioneer, as has been shown; forced into a position of leadership, every step of his spiritual progress experimental and unforeseen. It might

Reformation in
Latin countries.

be said of him that he drilled his battalions under fire. With Calvin the case was very different. Educated for the law, which he studied at Paris and at Lyons, he came gradually under the influence of Lutheran opinions, which had begun to spread themselves in France, and worked out his scheme of doctrine in detail before his actual work as a leader of reform was begun. His "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which he composed in the quiet of his study, was a complete system of Augustinian theology, and became the handbook of the sect which he founded.

Called to Geneva in 1536, to assume the leadership of the reform movement in that city, Calvin ruled and molded the little commonwealth, which became a hive of industry and a model of sobriety under the guidance of his stern and puritanical spirit. The Genevan reform, the product of Calvin's legal mind, affording a complete system of material and spiritual life, commended itself to the most progressive peoples of Europe: to the Rhenish Germans, to the Dutch; to the Scotch, and eventually to a great portion of the English people. Its sterling qualities, as expressed in Congregationalism, determined the character of our New England civilization.

In France the logical side of Calvinism made it stronger with the middle and upper classes. Its followers, called Huguenots, counted in their numbers many of the great nobles of the realm. It gained ground against Lutheranism, no doubt because its French origin caused it to appeal more strongly to the French mind.

In thus hastily reviewing the effects of the new doctrines upon the several nations of Europe, one fact stands out in bold relief: the political organization of each country, at the time of the Reformation, determines the manner in which the great religious question will be decided. In compact nations, with strong central governments, as in England, for example, it is evident that one party or the other, Catholic or Protestant, will ultimately prevail to the exclusion of its opponent. England, and France and Spain as well, must be wholly Protestant or wholly Catholic. In countries of the other class, like Germany, with its hundred principalities, or Switzerland, a loosely united group of cantons, the principle of state rights is certain to be the determining factor. This was in truth the basis of settlement in Germany and Switzerland. In Germany, at the Peace of Augsburg, 1555, each state was permitted to select its own religion,

Catholic or Lutheran. In Switzerland, by the Peace of Cappel, 1531, each canton was at liberty to decide the religious question for itself. It is to be borne in mind that at this time, and for many generations to come, the idea that persons of different religions might live together harmoniously in the same state seems to have occurred to no one.

HENRY VIII AND HIS WIVES

	WIVES	CHILDREN
Henry VIII.	1. Catharine of Aragon, m. 1509; divorced 1533.	Mary, m. Philip II of Spain (no issue).
	2. Anne Boleyn, m. 1533; beheaded 1536.	Elizabeth (unmarried).
	3. Jane Seymour, m. 1536; died 1537.	Edward VI (no issue).
	4. Anne of Cleves, m. 1540; divorced 1540	
	5. Catharine Howard, m. 1540; beheaded 1542	
	6. Catharine Parr, m. 1543; survived the king.	

SOURCE REVIEW

I.—The Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII, 1535).—"Albeit the King's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet, nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors Kings of the realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities,

profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church, belonging and appertaining.

“And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors Kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they may be, which by any manner spiritual authority ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ’s religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm ; and usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.”

II.—Ordinance Concerning the Times of Assembling at Church in Geneva (1547, period of Calvin’s influence).—“That the temples be closed except during hours of service, in order that no one shall enter therein out of hours, impelled thereto by superstition ; and if anyone be found engaged in any special act of devotion therein or near by, he shall be admonished for it ; if it be found to be of a superstitious nature, for which simple correction is inadequate, then he shall be chastised.”

REFERENCES

Seeböhm : *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 167-199 ;
Johnson : *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 271-276 ;
Green : *Short History of the English People*, pp. 331-348.

§ 10. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The revolts which had torn away one-half of Europe from Rome were not without their effect upon the internal organization of the Catholic church. An era of zeal and devotion succeeded to the indifference of the fifteenth century ; and this new life was felt in all departments of the church. To the popes of the Renaissance type, men who, like Leo X, were more interested in the patronage of art and letters

Effects of the
Reformation upon
the church.

and in the subtleties of Italian politics than in the vital needs of the church, succeeded a line of energetic popes,



PAUL III., POPE OF THE
COUNTER-REFORMATION
AND OF THE COUNCIL OF
TRENT.

who applied themselves vigorously to the task of reorganization. This Catholic revival had all the enthusiasm of a popular movement. Rome rose from her slumbers and showed again the greatness of her resources, her spirit of sacrifice, her genius for organization. Ancient religious orders were reconstituted and new ones founded. The Inquisition was reorganized in countries where the government remained in Catholic control; the Congregation of the *Index* was estab-

lished (1559) for the censorship of the press; and, in addition to these methods of defense against the new ideas, the Society of Jesus, powerful and aggressive, became, in the hands of the papacy, a potent instrument in winning back lost ground.

Loyola was born in 1491, of noble Spanish family. He

grew up in the court of Ferdinand, with a passion for arms and chivalry characteristic of his time and station. The fortune of war changed in a moment the current of his life.

Wounded at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, a military career became for him im-



IGNATIUS LOYOLA

possible. Thus suddenly cut off from his earlier interests, his vigorous spirit sought employment in the activities of the mind. Cured of his wound, but with impaired health, Loyola lived some time with the hermits of Montserrat and made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Recognizing his lack of spiritual training, he commenced the study of theology at the University of Salamanca and continued his course at Paris. There, in association with other Spanish students, Lainez and Francis Xavier, he organized, in 1534, a new religious order, to which they gave a military name, the Company of Jesus. The keynote of their discipline was implicit obedience to the papal authority, so generally attacked in the decade just elapsed. They took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Their organization complete, Loyola and his followers betook themselves to Rome and offered their services to the pope. In 1540 their project of association was confirmed by the Roman See.

It is interesting to note how the military instinct of Loyola, thwarted in its natural career, expressed itself in the organization of his spiritual army. Unquestioning obedience to the commander, the General of the Order, who, under the supervision of the pope, formulated at Rome the policy of the association, was the foundation principle of the new society. This, with care in the selection of its members, made the Society of Jesus the most effective instrument of control that Christendom has ever seen.

The contribution of the Society of Jesus toward the Counter-Reformation was threefold :

1. A ceaseless struggle against heresy, a stiffening of the conservative element in localities invaded by the new ideas. It is largely due to the efforts of the Jesuits (as well as to the dissensions among the Protestants : Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists) that Austria and South Germany, at one time largely Protestant, were won back to the

Work of the
Jesuits.

Catholic fold. Vienna, Ingoldstadt, and Cologne became centers of Jesuit influence.

2. By their close relations with the papacy, standing between it, as it were, and the mass of Catholic Christianity, they held the church aloof from all suggestions of doctrinal change and compromise, and preserved intact the main features of the ancient theology.

3. Recognizing that the Protestant ideas were largely the result of the educational tendencies of the Renaissance, the Jesuits sought to win back into the hands of the church the education of youth. In this they succeeded admirably. The Jesuit school system came to be one of the great formative agencies of modern times. The leading statesmen and writers of the three centuries following were educated in the Jesuit schools. "Let us have charge of the boys," they said, "and we shall be sure of the men."

The Emperor Charles V, struggling to reconcile the religious factions of Germany, sought, by means of a general council, to solve the problems of the church, as had been done in the time of Sigismund. By imperial order the council convened at Trent, in 1545. Its prime object, that of reconciliation, was not effected; nor did the council settle down to work until after the Peace of Augsburg, when division was established, and reconciliation was no longer possible. Its real work was the careful formulation of Catholic doctrine; so that, in the matter of doctrine, the ultimate effect of the Reformation was rather to strengthen than to modify the fundamental dogmas of the Catholic Church. The Trentine Council, however, while it established more firmly the doctrine of papal authority, removed, in a great degree, the old administrative and financial abuses, of which the fifteenth century had complained so bitterly. The commercialism of the medieval church, which reached its highest point of development in the traffic in indulgences and benefices,

The Council of
Trent.

was allayed ; but too late for the unity of the Church ; for half of Europe was irretrievably lost to Rome.

SOURCE REVIEW AND SELECT READING

I.—The *Index* was a list of books, the possession or perusal of which was forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities. That it was not without results is shown by the following testimony of contemporaries : A Dominican monk, Castiglione, writes, in 1581, “The Inquisitors frequently publish orders forbidding the sale of this or that work. The booksellers are no longer willing, therefore, to take the risk of importing books, while they are frequently prevented from selling those already in stock. There must be in Rome at present unsalable books to the amount of several thousand florins.”

Josias Simler, in 1565: “A new index has appeared, where-in so many books are condemned that a number of professors in the Italian universities complain they cannot lecture, if the edict remains in force. Frankfort and Zürich and other German cities have written to the Senate of Venice, urging it not to accept an edict whereby the book trade will be ruined.”

II.—Loyola and His Work. From Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America* : “It was an evil day for new-born Protestantism when a French artilleryman fired a shot that struck down Ignatius Loyola in the breach of Pampeluna. A proud noble, an aspiring soldier, a graceful courtier, an ardent and daring gallant was metamorphosed by that stroke into the zealot, whose brain engendered and brought forth the mighty Society of Jesus. His story is a familiar one : how, in the solitude of his sick-room, a change came over him, upheaving, like an earthquake, all the forces of his nature ; how, in the cave of Manresa, the mysteries of Heaven were revealed to him ; how he passed from agonies to transports, from transports to the calm of a determined purpose. The soldier gave himself to a new warfare. In the forge of his great intellect, heated, but not disturbed by the intense fires of his zeal, was wrought the prodigious enginery whose power has been felt to the uttermost confines of the world.

“Loyola's training had been in courts and camps ; of books

he knew little or nothing. He had lived in the unquestioning faith of one born and bred in the very focus of Romanism ; and thus, at the age of thirty, his conversion found him. It was a change of life and purpose, not of belief. He presumed not to inquire into the doctrines of the church. It was for him to enforce those doctrines, and to this end he turned all the faculties of his potent intellect and all his deep knowledge of mankind. He did not aim to build up barren communities of secluded monks, aspiring to Heaven through prayer, penance, and meditation, but to subdue the world to the dominion of the dogmas which had subdued him ; to organize and discipline a mighty host, controlled by one purpose and one mind, fixed by a quenchless zeal or nerved by a fixed resolve, yet impelled, restrained, and directed by a single master hand. The Jesuit is no dreamer : he is emphatically a man of action ; action is the end of his existence."

REFERENCES

Seeböhm : *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 199-208 ;
Johnson : *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 261-271.



CHAPTER IV

Wars of Religion

§ 11. THE RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE IN GERMANY

THE Lutheran Reformation possesses one characteristic which distinguishes it from the religious revolts of the earlier period. The movements of Wyclif and Huss took on extravagant forms, developing into forms of social anarchy, and lost thereby the sympathy and support of the more influential classes. The same danger was present in Luther's case; but the great reformer showed an ability closely akin to *Luther's statesmanship.* in keeping clear of embarrassing entanglements. When Luther raised the banner of revolt all the elements of discontent in German life felt that their opportunity had come. The free imperial knights, a class of small lords, surviving from the Middle Ages, whose castles were little more than robbers' dens along the Rhine and other highways of commerce, cast in their lot with the new movement, hoping for the downfall of their natural enemies, the great princes. At the outset their spokesman, Ulrich von Hutten, materially advanced the Lutheran cause with his writings; but when, in the Knights' War of 1522, the issue was joined between knights and princes, Luther did not permit his cause to be compromised by an alliance with the knights, as they had hoped, but held steadfast to his natural protectors, the princes, of whom Frederick the Wise was one.

The peasants, in their rising of 1525, looked to Luther for aid. Himself a peasant, they thought to find in him a friend. But in this they were disappointed. Luther rec-

ognized clearly that the success of his cause lay in a close alliance with the princes, whose protection, especially in the case of Frederick the Wise, alone rendered the *Decree of Worms* inoperative.

Luther and
the peasants.

We may regret that he turned against the peasants with violence, publicly exhorting the princes to crush their rebellion; but it is evident that an alliance with a social and agrarian revolution would have condemned the Lutheran movement in the eyes of the only people who were able to bring it to a successful issue, by holding off the imperial power, until the reform gathered strength to stand alone.

Charles V was prevented in various ways from making good the *Decree of Worms*. So great were the needs of his

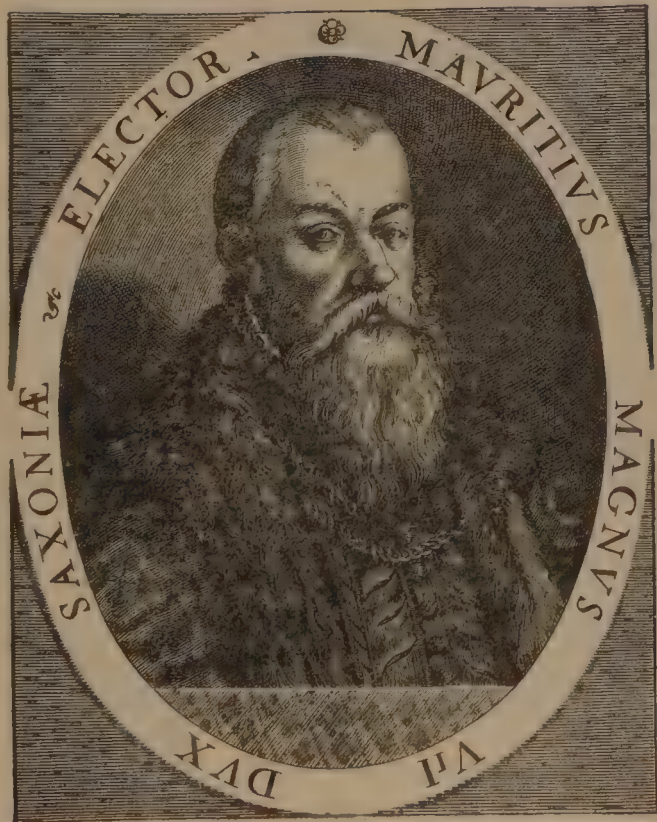
immense empire that more than once he was obliged to seek the aid of Luther's protectors against his enemies. At the Diet of

The division
of Germany.

Spire, in 1526, when Charles was seeking aid against the French, it was left to each German state to take its own course in the matter of Lutheran teaching. Again at Spire, in 1529, when the Emperor was stronger at home and abroad, a decree was passed, re-enacting the *Decree of Worms*, whereupon the Lutheran princes protested, and earned thereby the name of "Protestants." The following year, the Diet being held at Augsburg, the Emperor came to enforce the ban against Luther and his followers. The leaders of the Protestants, John of Saxony (successor of Frederick the Wise) and Philip of Hesse, presented a conservative statement of the reformed belief, the *Augsburg Confession*, and there were hopes of compromise. But the Emperor was steadfast, and gave the Protestants only a few months for submission. Fearing a resort to force, the Protestant princes, on their way home, came together and formed the "League of Schmalkalden," for defense. Thus was Germany arrayed in two hostile bands.

While Luther lived civil war was averted. Luther had a horror of war and great respect for the civil power. To take up arms for the extension of religious principles seemed to him unjustifiable; it was even doubtful if religion might be defended by force against the ruling powers. Luther's last

The
Schmalkaldic
War.



MAURICE OF SAXONY.

days were embittered with the thought of the impending struggle.

Luther died in 1546. His death was a signal for the commencement of hostilities. The Schmalkaldic League was crippled by the defection of Maurice, Duke of Saxony,

cousin and rival of the Elector, and the Protestants were easily overcome with Spanish soldiery, introduced by Charles V from his Italian garrisons. For once, however, Charles's judgment was at fault; his treatment of the Protestant leaders, John and Philip, who, condemned to death, were closely confined in foul dungeons, aroused such anger



CHARLES V. AT THE CLOSE OF HIS REIGN.

throughout Germany that Maurice was forced to break his pact with the Emperor, and seek to undo the mischief he had brought upon his kinsmen. Then, too, all Germany was enraged at the importation of Spanish troops, contrary to the provisions of the Emperor's election bond. The national pride revolted against Spanish methods put into use against German princes, and Germany made a Spanish province. Maurice

of Saxony, turning to his natural allies, plotted against the Emperor, and entered into an alliance with Henry II, king of France, by which the Protestants were supplied with money, and Henry was permitted to take for his share the great frontier posts of the Empire—Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

Charles, having no suspicion of Maurice's treachery,

was an easy victim. Caught in a defile of Tyrol, he was obliged to yield. The Convention of Passau, 1552, closed the war; but the peace of Augsburg, 1555, defined the status of Catholic and Protestant. It gave to the ruler of each state the power to define the religion of the land. To this religion all persons within the state must conform. Nonconformists were permitted to migrate elsewhere, and take their property with them. This treaty, although weak in many particulars (it made no provision for the growing sect of Calvinists), furnished a *modus vivendi* to Germany for sixty years.

The Emperor Charles V, overwhelmed with the sudden collapse of his imperial power, and broken in health, abdicated, leaving Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip, and to his brother Ferdinand, Austria and the Empire. Charles retired to the monastery of Yuste, in Spain, and there remained until his death in 1558; but not as a monk, for he kept in touch with the affairs of Europe and frequently advised his successors.

SOURCE REVIEW AND SELECT READING

I.—Regret of Charles V that he had dealt so mildly with the New Doctrines at the start.—Extract from his Abdication Speech at Brussels: “Soon came the death of my grandfather Maximilian, in my nineteenth year, and, although I was still young, they conferred upon me in his stead the imperial dignity. I had no inordinate ambition to rule a multitude of kingdoms, but merely sought to secure the welfare of Germany, to provide for the defense of Flanders, to consecrate my forces to the safety of Christianity against the Turk, and to labor for the extension of the Christian religion. But, although such zeal was mine, I was unable to show so much of it as I might have wished, on account of the troubles raised by the heresies of Luther and the other innovators of Germany, and on account of the serious war into which the hos-

tility and envy of neighboring princes had driven me. . . . (To his son, Philip) Above all, beware of the infection from the sects of neighboring lands. Extirpate at once the germs, if they appear in your midst, for fear they may spread abroad and utterly overthrow your state, and lest you may fall into the direst calamities."

II.—Charles V at the Monastery of Yuste.—"At the end of his first year's residence the absence of all fatigue, the calm, the solitude, the mildness of the air brought him an almost embarrassing surprise, a return to health, something which had not entered into his calculations, and which threatened to seriously disturb his plans. He did not dream of quitting the monastery, to enter the world once more, but at one time he formed the resolution, it is said, of undertaking a journey to the Pyrenees.

"Thus his repose and his isolation were far from being absolute. His sisters, Queen Mary of Hungary and Queen Eleanor, the latter the widow of Francis I, came to visit him at Yuste. Their sojourn at the monastery gave him great pleasure. The conversations of these three personages, at this solemn hour, after a life so full of events, would furnish an interesting page of history. Two of them were endowed with superior intelligence. As for Eleanor, she had neither the spirit nor the courage of her sister. It was her curious fate to marry the military and political rival of her brother, and, being devoid of interest and feeling in the affairs of state, she rejoined her family after the death of the king, her husband. These two queens died in Spain, not at San Yuste, but during the period of their brother's residence there.

"Charles V received ambassadors at the monastery, and attended to his correspondence. When, at the day's decline, he was conducted to a terrace, built expressly that he might enjoy the beauty of the surrounding country, it pleased him better to breathe the temperate air, so beneficial to his health, and to meditate on the letters, the audiences, and the various occurrences of the day, than to admire the southern splendor of the landscape and the distant outline of the mountains of Estramadura."—*Jules van Praet.*

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Seeböhm : *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, pp. 162-166 ;
Johnson : *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 220-252.

§ 12. RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE

The attitude of the King of France toward the Reformation was largely determined by external politics. Francis I, in whose reign the Lutheran reformation was begun, was inclined to tolerate the new opinions, on account of his sympathy with

Francis I,
1516-1547.

literature and with the culture of the Renaissance. He even intervened to save from destruction his friends who were accused by the clerical authorities of leaning toward the new doctrines. As a consequence of this policy of indifference and toleration, Lutheran ideas rapidly gained ground in France. About 1529, however, the political necessities of the king brought about a change in his attitude toward the Protestants. Defeated by his great rival, Charles V, in a struggle for the possession of northern Italy, Francis formed an alliance with Pope Clement VII against the Emperor, one of the conditions of which was the extirpation of heresy in France. This change of policy, together with the extravagances of the reformers, who placarded the walls of Paris with insulting attacks upon the mass, turned the royal attitude from indifference into persecution.



FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE.

In the meantime a new and aggressive element had

been added to the Lutheran influence in France. Calvinism brought in the principle of religious association.

Henry II,
1547-1559.

Churches were organized after the democratic system of Geneva, and the forces of revolt, gathered together under able leadership, formed a threatening party in the state. Henry II did not possess the literary tastes of his father; he was only twenty-nine when he came to the throne, and he gave himself unreservedly into the hands of the conservative party.



KING HENRY II OF FRANCE.

Several measures were taken against heretics. It is likely that the French king was concerting plans with Philip of Spain for a general reduction of the Protestants, when he was killed by the accidental thrust of a lance at a tournament, in 1559, and the crown was transferred to his son, Francis II, a youth of sixteen.

The death of Henry II was the beginning of a period of confusion and decline in the political life of France, which lasted forty years. Three children of Henry II and Catharine de Medicis his wife, all of them weak and degenerate men, wore in turn the crown of France : Francis II (1559–1560) whose chief interest in history is his marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots ; Charles IX (1560–1574), in whose reign occurred the massacre of St. Bartholomew ; and Henry III (1574–1589), last of the Valois, who spent his days and nights in frivolous rioting, while his kingdom fell into anarchy and ruin. During the reigns of these three kings a struggle was taking place behind the throne, a triangular contest, in which the following persons were engaged : the Queen Mother, ambitious of supreme control ; the family of Guise, able and aspiring men, leaders of the Catholic party, who hoped to establish their line upon the throne of France with the extinction of the sterile race of Valois ; finally, the Protestant nobles, led by the Admiral Coligny, whose candidate for the crown was the Protestant prince, allied to the family of Valois, Henry of Navarre.

Early in the reign of Charles IX, when the direction of affairs was in the hands of the Queen Mother, attempts were made to reconcile the rival factions. A meeting was held at Poissy, in the presence of the king, at which the Protestants were permitted to present their views for joint discussion. Theodore Beza, a disciple of Calvin, a man of courtly training and the ablest of the Huguenot orators, spoke before Charles and Catharine. The tendency of the time was toward

Catharine de
Medicis.

Colloquy of Poissy
(1561).

religion have more affection for each other than citizens of the same city, or vassals of the same lord, who hold to different creeds."

The attempted adjustment of Catharine and l'Hôpital failed, and France was thrown into the horrors of civil war, which endured, with alternating periods of treacherous peace, until the end of the century. In 1589 the assassination of Henry

Civil War
(1562-1598).

III. put an end to the house of Valois, and threw the succession, by right of blood, into the house of Bourbon, whose representative was Henry of Navarre. But because he was a Protestant, it took Henry of Navarre nine years to make good his claim against the opposition of the Catholics. Even then his success was the result of compromise, and a very serious one at that. Henry himself formally accepted the Catholic faith, and with this barrier removed France, exhausted with her forty years of civil war, was glad to allow his claims, and see the great house of Bourbon seated on the throne.



HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.
(Henry of Navarre.)

Thus the religious wars came to an end through the exhaustion of France, and the Edict of Nantes (1598),

which fixed the conditions of final peace between Catholics and Protestants, is clearly a compromise and temporary expedient. Since France was a compact nation, no such adjustment was possible as had been effected in Germany or in Switzerland; but the Edict sought to apply the same principle, in so far as it was possible. The basis of the Edict was the recognition of the feudal unit of society. To each lord of a fief was given the right to celebrate, in his manor-house, for himself and

Edict of Nantes.

his retainers, the religion of his choice ; but in the city of Paris, or elsewhere in the presence of the king, the rights of the Catholic religion alone might be performed. This Edict is an evident makeshift, clearly violating the traditional spirit of French political development, which is toward unity and a similarity of institutions throughout France. The Edict of Nantes contemplated a division of France into an infinity of discordant units. It is no wonder, therefore, that, when the Bourbon power was well established, King Louis XIV should restore the principle of unity even at great economic loss to France, in the exile of her most industrious citizens. (Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 1685. See § 18.)

SOURCE REVIEW

I.—Extracts from the Edict of Nantes :

“VII. It is permitted to all lords, gentlemen, and other persons, natives and others as well, making profession of the said religion called Reformed, having high justice or full military tenure in our realm or in the countries of our sway, be it as proprietor or in usufruct, in whole or in half, or for a third part, to enjoy in their houses of said high justice or tenure as above mentioned, which they shall be required to name before our bailiffs and seneschalls, each one in his jurisdiction, as their principal domiciles, the exercise of the said religion, as long as they there reside ; or in their absence their wives, or indeed their family, or any part of the same.”

“XIV. (They are forbidden) ‘as well from performing any function of the said religion in our court or retinue, or equally in our lands or territories beyond the mountains, or in our city of Paris or within five leagues of said city ; at the same time those of the said religion who live in the said lands beyond the mountains or in our said city, and for five leagues thereabouts, may not be investigated in their houses, nor constrained to do anything in respect to religion contrary to their consciences, providing they comport themselves in other respects according to that which is contained in our present Edict.’ ”

II.—French Kings of the Reformation Period.

Francis I = (1) Claude, daughter of Louis XII, his predecessor ;
 1515–1547 | (2) Eleanor, sister of Charles V, 1530
 Henry II. = Catharine de' Medici
 1547–1559 |

Francis II, 1559–1560, m Mary Stuart	Elizabeth, m Philip II, K. of Spain.	Charles IX, 1560–1574	Henry III, 1574–1589	Francis Margaret, duke of m. Henry Alençon, of Na- died 1584 varre (Henry IV of France)
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III.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572. Re-lation of Margaret, sister of the King: “ King Charles, who was a prudent man and had been always very obedient to his mother, seeing the trend of affairs, took a sudden resolution to join the queen, his mother, and conform to her wishes, and protect himself against the Protestants by a closer union with the Catholics. Going to find the queen his mother, he sent for Monsieur de Guise and all the other Catholic princes and captains, and it was there resolved to cause, that night, the massacre of St. Bartholomew. And, quickly putting their hands to the task, the chains were stretched, the tocsin sounded, and each one rushed upon the quarter assigned to him, seeking the admiral and the other Huguenots as well. Monsieur de Guise went to the lodging of the Admiral, and Besme, a German gentleman, mounted to Coligny's chamber, and, after having stabbed him, cast his body through the window to Monsieur de Guise.”

REFERENCES

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 Adams: *European History*, 341–344 ; Myers: *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 457–468.

§ 13. SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

Philip II was the most powerful of the Catholic kings of the sixteenth century. If his territories were less in extent than those of his father, the Emperor Charles, they

were more absolutely his. The title of Emperor was a fine thing, but less productive of revenue than of embarrassments. In some respects Philip was more fortunate than his father. He was master of Italy, where no one contested his sway. The old hostility of France, which had been the chief obstacle in his father's path, no longer existed; by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis Philip was reconciled with Henry II of France. Henry abandoned all claims upon Italy, and

Philip II of
Spain

gave to Philip his eldest daughter Elizabeth for a wife. Philip exercised absolute power over his lands, and his galleons brought him wealth from America.



PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.

Philip II looked upon himself as the lieutenant of God upon earth for the extirpation of heresy. He sought to establish a universal Catholic monarchy. From his somber palace of the Escorial, surrounded by his advisers, he pulled the wires of European diplomacy.

That he failed in his great undertakings, that Spain touched the pinnacle of her greatness, and advanced far along the path of her decline within the fifty-two years of his reign, is due to the fact that with all his opportunities he was a man of small intelligence, of narrow and bigoted views and misdirected energy. Suspicious of his agents, he reserved to himself the decision of all points of policy, delaying action when haste was essential. "Time and I," he said, "are a match for any other two;" but it was not so.

The first task of Philip was to purge the Spanish kingdom of heretics. Comparatively few Spaniards were at-

tracted to the new doctrines; but about the year 1558 some few congregations of reformers were to be found in the larger towns of Spain. The dying Emperor, from his retreat at Yuste, mindful of his own experience in Germany, urged his son to spare no effort in rooting out the evil. Philip required no urging; with him it was a labor of love. He published an edict, condemning to the stake all who bought, sold, or read the prohibited books. The terrible instrument of the Inquisition brought to the stake all those suspected of heresy. The "*Auto da Fé*," or public burning of heretics, was for years the delight of Spanish audiences. Philip included an "*Auto da Fé*" in the fêtes he offered to his third bride, Elizabeth of France, on her arrival in Spain.

In Philip's reign the Moriscoes, or "New Christians," as the descendants of the Moors who had accepted Christianity and remained in Spain were called, still inhabited the uplands of Granada, which they had converted into one of the most fertile parts of Spain. The fanaticism aroused by the persecution of Protestants proved their ruin. By irritating laws, suppressing their national songs and destroying their baths, the Moriscoes were driven into rebellion; they sought the aid of the Sultan of Turkey, but in vain. Overwhelmed with Spanish armies, by the Edict of 1570 they were scattered and removed to other parts of Spain, where they flourished as a result of their industrious habits, until in 1609 they were finally forced to leave the country, victims of Spanish hatred and fanaticism.

In 1580 the grandeur of Philip's reign reached its height. Through a vacancy in the succession to the throne of Portugal, Philip had added this realm to The Netherlands. Spain, urging the claims of his first wife, Isabella of Portugal. His plans were far-reaching: he hoped to take England from Elizabeth; to aid the Catholics in France to overthrow their enemies, and thus, with

France and England at his back, to turn with a supreme effort upon Lutheran Germany. But an unreckoned factor came to ruin his prospects: the revolt of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands under Philip's rule contained two well-defined racial elements. The northern provinces (now Holland) were German, and lived from fishing and commerce; the southern provinces (now Belgium) were Flemish, and lived from agriculture and manufactures. The Dutch provinces had become Protestant; the Flemish remained Catholic. The new doctrines had been combated with vigor by Charles V and by Philip his son; but the Protestants increased in numbers in the North, and chose for their leader William of Orange, called the Silent, formerly governor of Holland under Charles V.

The conflict was fought with obstinacy on both sides. Philip sent the Duke of Alba into the Netherlands, and he established a reign of terror which endured from 1567 to 1573. Seeking to support the war in the Netherlands with taxes levied upon the people, Philip ruined the commerce of the country. Eighteen thousand persons were tried by his military tribunals and condemned to death. These atrocities drove the Flemish provinces to a union with Holland, and strengthened the Dutch in their faith and resistance. After 1573 a milder policy prevailed; but all in vain. In 1579 the Union of Utrecht proclaimed the independence of the seven provinces of the North; but it was twenty years before they obtained a recognition of their independence. The United Provinces were recognized in 1609 by the Archduke of Austria, to whom Philip had given the Netherlands at his death. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, ratified the concession, and made it a part of the public treaty law of Europe. The Flemish provinces remained under Spanish rule.

The intervention of Philip in England was equally disastrous. Rebuffed in his attempt to secure the hand of



THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

Elizabeth, after the death of Queen Mary his second wife, and Elizabeth's half-sister, Philip supported the claims of Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II of France, England.

Queen of Scotland and Catholic candidate for the throne of England. The execution of Mary of Scotland (1587) and the aid given by Elizabeth to the Dutch served Philip as a pretext for the invasion of England. An immense fleet was prepared and sent against the coasts of England under the command of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. So proud were the Spaniards of their fleet, so confident were they in its success, that they named it the "Invincible Armada." It was dispersed by tempests in the Channel, and the ships of Elizabeth completed its ruin. When Philip heard of the disaster, in which his hopes of universal Catholic dominion were wrecked, he merely remarked to Medina-Sidonia: "I did not send you to combat the elements."

Everywhere Philip's plans miscarried. In France the success of Henry of Navarre broke the alliance formed with Henry II. Philip's armed intervention in France was in vain; his forces were defeated at Fontaine-Française, and he was forced to sign the treaty of Vervins, leaving Henry IV to reign in peace and to give religious protection to the hated Protestants. In that year Philip II died (1598).

At the end of his reign Spain was bankrupt. To the surprise of his contemporaries the sovereign of the American mines had exhausted his resources. Spain had lost, since the discovery of America, the taste and habit of labor. The expulsion of the Moors and Jews had robbed her of her skilled laborers and her enterprising merchants. At a time when other nations were laying the foundation of the commercial and industrial life of the new time, Spain still lived on the results of her plunder of both Indies. Five-sixths of her home trade and nine-tenths of her Indian trade was monopolized by foreigners. Her copper and her

leather, her chief products, were exported for manufacture. Spain failed to seize upon the spirit of the times and rapidly declined, so that, from a world power, she has become one of the least of European states.

SELECT READING

Why William was called the Silent.—Before the struggle with Spain was begun the Prince of Orange was present at the court of Henry II of France on a diplomatic errand. While hunting with the king in the forest of Vincennes that monarch unfolded to his guest a plan for the general extirpation of Protestants. “For the furtherance of the scheme in the Netherlands, it was understood that the Spanish regiments would be exceedingly efficient. The prince, although horror-struck and indignant at the royal revelations, held his peace and kept his countenance. The king was not aware that, in opening the delicate negotiation to the prince, he had given a warning of inestimable value to the man who had been born to resist the machinations of Philip and of Alba. William of Orange earned the title of “the Silent” from the manner in which he received these communications of Henry without revealing to the monarch, by word or look, the enormous blunder which he had committed. His purpose was fixed from that hour.”—Motley : *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

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Myers : *Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 437-456.

CHAPTER V

Commerce

§ 14. STRUGGLE FOR THE INDIAN TRADE

THE goods brought from the East to Venice were sold in Venice to traders from the North and West. The Venetians did not attempt to distribute their wares over the continent; it was left for the merchants of Europe to come to Venice, buy the goods, and carry them away. In the fifteenth century a constantly increasing amount of Eastern products, in

Distribution
of Eastern
goods.



OFFICE AND WAREHOUSE OF AN AUGSBURG
MERCHANT — 1495.

particular the spices, pepper, cinnamon, and cloves, was consumed in the countries north of the Alps, and it became a very profitable business for the merchants of the South German cities, especially those situated between the Alpine passes leading from Italy and the headwaters of the Rhine and Danube, to en-

gage in the business of bringing goods from Venice and distributing them to the lower Rhenish countries and northeastern Germany. The goods were brought through

the mountains by wagon, or on the backs of packhorses and even of men.

It was along these routes of trade that the ideas of the Renaissance came into Germany, and established themselves amidst the patrician population of the wealthy German towns, such as Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ratisbon. It was in these towns that accumulated wealth gave rise to art: painting and engraving, wrought-iron-work and jewelry of high artistic merit, and the wonderful development of the Gothic style of architecture, perpetuated in the cathedrals of Rhenish Germany.

This high development of German trade was overthrown, together with the commercial supremacy of Venice, of which it was a part, by the discovery of the ocean route to the Indies by Vasco da Gama in 1497. The advantage of the ocean route was so great that the spice trade was transferred at once to Lisbon. Although the distance was greater by the Cape of Good Hope route than by way of Egypt, yet there was no transshipment between the East and Lisbon, while by the Egyptian route at least three transshipments were necessary, and a caravan journey from the Red Sea to the Nile. But a still more serious obstacle was the heavy duties laid upon goods in transit by the Sultan of Egypt. In vain the Venetian ambassadors at Cairo urged a reduction of the duties, hoping thereby to compete successfully with the Portuguese. The Sultan was too stupid to see the point, and at length the whole matter of competition was summarily solved by the Portuguese, who seized the entrance to the Red Sea from the South, and cut off the water carriage of Indian goods to Egypt. Venice was left to handle only such goods as she might collect about the basin of the Mediterranean. The great spice trade went to Lisbon.

The Portuguese pursued the same policy as the Venetians in regard to distribution. They brought the goods

The ocean
route.

to Lisbon, where they stored them in the royal warehouses. The trade was a government monopoly, and only

The
Portuguese
trade.

such persons as obtained a royal privilege were permitted to engage in it. Dutch, English, and German traders bought the India wares in Lisbon, and took them to Antwerp, London, and other North Sea and Baltic ports for distribution. The



OCEAN SHIP OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

merchant fleet of Portugal set sail from Lisbon bound for the Indies, convoyed by ships of war, once a year, in February or March. The voyage lasted about eighteen months, and although, owing to imperfect charts and clumsy ships, the losses were great, still the profits were immense.

The year 1542 marks the zenith of

The Portu-
guese colonial
empire.

Portu-
guese
power.

For sixty years the King of Portugal was the supreme ruler of the southern coasts of Asia. In the West as well Portugal was powerful in trade. From the coast of Africa came ivory, cotton, gold-dust, and slaves; sugar from the Canaries and wine from Madeira. In 1500 Cabral discovered the Brazils, named from the dye-wood, which was the first product; later found to be a

magnificent empire, successor to the glories of the mother country.

The Portuguese colonial empire, so brilliantly and rapidly acquired, lasted little more than half a century. In 1580 the union of Portugal with Spain brought disaster to the colonies. Philip lived in his dream of Catholic restoration, and his wars with the Dutch had the effect, not only of wasting the resources of Portugal, but of driving the Dutch into the Indian seas, with the consequent loss of Portuguese possessions. Only a few small stations remained of their former great Indian empire. The policy of Spain had sapped the strength and vigor of Portugal.

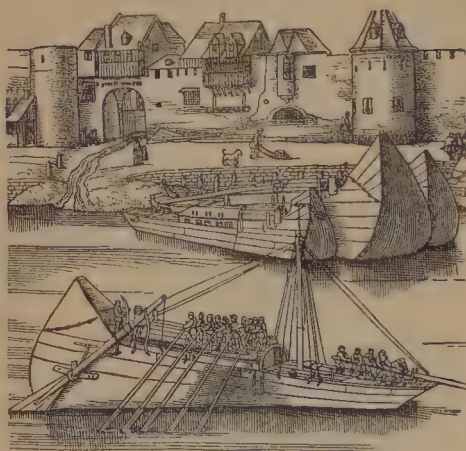
The Dutch policy in the East differed materially from that of Portugal. Instead of a government monopoly, as at Lisbon, the Dutch trade was controlled by companies, privately organized, and chartered by the States General. The Dutch East India Company was chartered in 1602, absorbing some earlier and smaller companies. It was empowered to make peace and war with Eastern princes, to establish forts, and appoint administrative and judicial officers. Its headquarters were at Batavia, on the island of Java. The eastern dominion of Holland was divided into administrative departments: Java, Amboina, Ternate, Macassar.

In conformity with the ideas of the day, the Dutch sought to establish a strict monopoly in spices. The nutmeg was permitted to be grown only in Banda, the clove in Amboina. Elsewhere the trees were rooted out and destroyed. A small product at a high price was thought to be more profitable and more easily controlled than a larger supply at a smaller price.

The colonial possessions of the Dutch in the West were of less importance. Their attempt to find a northwest passage to the Indies resulted in the settlement of Man-

Rise of Dutch
colonial power.

hattan.¹ In 1612 a fort was built on the gold coast of Upper Guiana, and in 1621 a West India company was formed after the model of the great East India Company.



RHINE SHIPPING, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Various possessions were acquired in Africa and Brazil, but New Amsterdam, the main settlement in the West, was lost to the English in 1664. Altogether the western ventures were not profitable, and after an unprofitable career the company was disbanded in 1790. The Dutch colonial empire was more enduring

than the Portuguese; but what it had won from Portugal, Holland was forced to surrender in part to England, retaining, however, to this day, great and wealthy possessions in the Far East.

SOURCE REVIEW

Calecut and the Indian Trade; Trade Routes with the West, as they existed before the opening of the Cape Route by Vasco da Gama.—From the *First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*: “From this country of Calecut, or Upper India,² come the spices which are consumed in the East and the West, in Portugal, as in all other countries of the world, as also precious

¹ Manhattan Island, now New York, was settled in 1615, six years after Hendrik Hudson's voyage up the North River (Hudson), in search of a northwest passage.

² The India of to-day was called “Upper India,” while the term “Lower India” was applied to the country of the famous “Prester John,” the Christian sovereign of Abyssinia.

stones of every description. The following spices are to be found in this city of Calecut, being its own produce: much ginger and pepper and cinnamon, although the last is not of so fine a quality as that brought from an island called Çillan (Ceylon), which is eight days' journey from Calecut. Calecut is the market for all this cinnamon. Cloves are brought to this city from an island called Malequa (Malacca). The Mecca vessels carry these spices from here to a city in Mecca (Arabia) called Judea (Jidda), and from the said island to Judea is a voyage of fifty days' sailing before the wind, for the vessels of this country cannot tack. At Judea they discharge their cargoes, paying customs duties to the Grand Sultan (of Egypt). The merchandise is then transshipped to smaller vessels, which carry it through the Red Sea to a place close to Santa Catarina of Mount Sinai, called Tuuz (Suez?), where customs duties are paid once more. From that place the merchants carry the spices on the backs of camels, which they hire at the rate of four cruzados¹ each, to Quayro (Cairo), a journey occupying ten days. At Quayro duties are again paid. On this road to Quayro they are frequently robbed by thieves who are in that country, such as the Bedouins and others.

“At Quayro the spices are embarked on the River Nile, which rises in Prester John's country in Lower India, and descending that river for two days they reach a place called Roxette (Rosetta), where duties have to be paid once more. There they are placed on camels, and are conveyed in one day to a city called Alexandria, which is a seaport. This city is visited by the galleys of Venice and Genoa, in search of these spices, which yield the Grand Sultan a revenue of 600,000 cruzados in customs duties.”

§ 15. ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONIZATION

Nearly one hundred years elapsed after the discovery of the ocean route to the Indies, before English mariners found their way about the southern cape of Africa. The struggle against the naval power of Spain developed the English into a nation of sailors. In 1582 an English cap-

¹ A *cruzado* was a gold coin of Portugal, worth about \$2.25

tain, Stephens by name, sailed to India. In 1593 the capture of a Portuguese ship laden with precious oriental wares stimulated the cupidity of English merchants. On the last day of the year 1600 the East India Company was formed, "The Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." In 1601 the first expedition, consisting of five ships under Captain Lancaster, was sent out, with bullion, broadcloth, tin, cutlery, and glass. The voyage was suc-

The English in
India.



EARLY ENGLISH SAILORS.

cessful, but it failed to arouse enthusiasm in England, and for many years the volume of trade with India was small. Factories, however, were established at various places in India, and Bombay, a part of the marriage portion brought to Charles II by Catharine of Portugal,

was given by the king to the Company, and a mint established there in 1668.

In the eighteenth century the East India Company, which had been organized as a chartered trading company, developed into a huge system of territorial government, the ruler of vast territories and of millions of people. Since the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, the Indian empire of the Moguls had fallen into pieces, and the numerous little states into which it was resolved formed an easy prey for a foreign power desirous of extending its authority. Both France and England strove to improve this opportunity, and the second half of the eighteenth century is full of the

struggles of these powers for the possession of India. It is a noteworthy feature of this conflict, that, although it was waged between French and English, yet the penalty was paid by the native princes, who became involved as allies of one or the other of the rival powers, and eventually lost their territories to the stranger. Through the able generalship of Lord Clive, who showed great skill in converting the native levies into able soldiery (Sepoys), the East India Company extended its possessions and drove the French



EAST INDIA HOUSE. LONDON, 1803.

out of India, as the English were, at the same time, driving the French out of Canada. In 1765 Lord Clive was governor of Bengal, and in the same year received from the Great Mogul at Delhi a recognition of English sovereignty over northern India.

So long as the strict monopoly of the East India Company continued, the English trade with India was not remarkable. It formed in 1780 only one thirty-second part of the foreign trade of the kingdom; but while the finances of the Company languished, its officials returned

home with enormous fortunes. The opportunity for plunder was perhaps the greatest that the modern world has afforded. For two thousand years a stream of gold and silver had been flowing from Europe eastward in exchange for Oriental products. It was this stream of wealth, hoarded after the manner of the East, and passed from hand to hand by succession or conquest, that filled the treasure-chambers of Asian monarchs. Not until the times of Lord Clive and his successor, Warren Hastings, was it returned to the channels of western trade.

Trade versus
plunder.

In 1784 the power of the East India Company was restricted by the establishment of a board of control. In 1813 the India trade was partially opened to private enterprise, with a marked result in the increase of trade. Upon the renewal of its charter in 1833 the Company was compelled to abandon entirely its trading, and in 1858 the Queen assumed the government of India.

In the sixteenth century the maritime nations of Europe began to turn their attention to the unknown possibilities of the Western Hemisphere. Spain, by right of discovery and of her supremacy on the seas, was first in the field. She seized at once upon those portions of America which seemed most prolific in the precious metals. With the discovery of silver-mines in Mexico in 1532, and later in Peru, began the flow of precious metals into Spain. Her colonial policy, however, was merely one of exploitation. Comparatively few Spaniards went to make their permanent homes in America, and of the few that went many mixed with the natives, and produced a race inferior in ability and enterprise to the European. The same may be said of the Portuguese in Brazil.

Western
discoveries and
colonization.

It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that Englishmen, stimulated to maritime effort by the hostility of Spain, turned their attention to the West. The bold

seamen of the age of Elizabeth, of whom Francis Drake was typical, bold pirates and sea-rovers, sailed about the world, plundering Spanish galleons and settlements, bringing home cargoes of booty, with a present for the Queen. The first attempts at colonization failed, Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland and Sir Walter Raleigh at Roanoke; but later efforts met with success, when a band of self-exiled men laid at Plymouth and at Charles-Town the foundation of New England. In the middle of the eighteenth century thirteen colonies stretched from North to South between the Allegheny Mountains and the sea. Their European population was intact and free from native mixture, preserving the characteristics of the race from which they sprang.

Holland was too small a country to furnish colonists for

French colonies. so great an enter-

prise, and her pos-

sessions were little more than

trading stations. France, how-

ever, had high ambitions toward

a western empire. Her mari-

ners, attracted to the cod fish-

eries of the Newfoundland banks, established her power in

the valley of the St. Lawrence. Daring explorers navi-

gated the Great Lakes, and traced the Mississippi from its

sources to the Gulf of Mexico, taking possession of the

drainage area of the great river and its tributaries in the

name of their king, Louis XIV. Thus, while the Eng-

lish were content with the Atlantic slope, the French had

registered a claim, by right of discovery, to the country of

the middle West. With the expansion of the English

colonies came the inevitable struggle, and in this the

French, although possessed of points of great strategic



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

value, were handicapped with their lack of population in the West : sixty thousand against a million of American-English. “The French and Indian War,” with its terminal Treaty of Paris in 1763, gave to the English the country of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and an outlet to the Mississippi on the West.

SELECT READING

I. Magnitude of the Conquest of India.—“We have always thought it strange, that while the history of the Spanish empire in America is so familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of Englishmen in the East should, even among themselves, excite little interest. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labor, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish-bones, who regarded a horse-soldier as a monster, half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the vanished Americans, and were at the same time quite as highly civilized as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa and Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the Cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendor far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain.”—Macaulay.

II. After Clive's Conquest of a Native Prince.—“The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which but a few months before had been so

desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived, and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself."—Macaulay.

CHAPTER VI

The Supremacy of France

§ 16. GREAT MINISTERS OF FRANCE

WITH the coming of Henry IV to the throne and the ending of the religious wars, France entered upon a period of supremacy in Europe. Her great rivals
The Bourbons. were no longer powerful: Spain was falling into decay; in Germany religious differences were for more than two centuries a bar to national unity. For two hundred years the history of France is the history of the continent of Europe. Not only was she paramount in politics, but her decision was final also in the spheres of literature, of science, and of art. The courts of Europe reflected the fashions of the Bourbons.

This was due not wholly to the greatness of Henry IV and his successors. Only one of the successors of Henry IV was a man of strong personality, Louis XIV. It was due rather to a succession of great ministers, men of vast creative genius and administrative ability: Sully, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert.

The brief reign of Henry IV was a period of recuperation for France. After a half century of civil war the whole fabric of society had fallen in anarchy. Having made good his claim as king of France, and brought the great nobles to his side by threats or gifts, Henry's next task was to bring about the economic recovery of his realm. In this he was aided by his minister, the Duke of Sully.

Sully wisely held that agriculture was the basis of France's prosperity. The chief object of his policy was to

protect the peasants who tilled the soil, and who, as subject to the *taille*, or land-tax, were the chief contributors to the king's treasury. During the civil wars this class was crushed under intolerable taxes, and in many instances its rights in the land were usurped by nobles, so that a considerable body of land was cut off from taxation. The aim of Sully was to lessen the burdens of agriculture, and restore their property to the peasants. This he accomplished by economy in the public expenditures; by limiting the demands of the nobles upon their tenants; by the introduction of new lines of agriculture, such as silk-growing; and by an extension of the area of cultivation, draining marshes under government direction. The grain trade was freed from restrictions, and the grower allowed to sell in the best market, even outside the kingdom. The result was an increase in the production of grain and a greater profit to the producer. The king advised his nobles to return to their estates and see that they were properly cultivated. "Agriculture and stock-raising," said Sully, "are the two breasts of France; the true mines and treasures of Peru."



THE DUKE OF SULLY.

Sully was no special friend of manufacture, but the king had a wider vision. He encouraged the production of articles of luxury—silk, glass, linen, and metal goods—and laid the foundation of the specialties of French manufacture. Commerce received its share of attention; roads were improved, post-routes established, and canals built. Colonization received an impulse; in 1608 Champlain founded Quebec.

With the assassination of Henry IV, by the fanatic

Ravaillac, the crown passed to his infant son, Louis XIII. The mother of Louis, Marie de Medicis, who became regent, lacked political ability, and France seemed Richelieu.

about to relapse into anarchy. Religious discords came again to the front, and the regent, in her helplessness, called together the Estates General. The three estates could come to no agreement, and their powerlessness had the effect of discrediting this national parliament. It was never again assembled until the eve of the great revolution in 1789. The salvation of the house of Bourbon came, not through representative government, but



RICHELIEU.

with the introduction into public affairs of Cardinal Richelieu, who became chief minister of the king in 1624, and continued to direct the royal policy until his death in 1642.

The internal policy of Richelieu, as he announced it to Louis XIII, was "to effect the ruin of the Huguenot party, to abase the pride of the nobles, and to bring all subject to the king's obedience." To the accomplishment of these ends he

set his inflexible will. Although Richelieu was never a personal favorite of the king, yet Louis XIII, fortunately for himself and for France, possessed enough intelligence to enable him to appreciate the value of Richelieu's aid.

The Huguenots constituted in France a state within a state. The success of their intrigues would have resulted

The Huguenots. in the disruption of the realm. Certain fortified places given them by the Edict of Nantes, as cities of refuge, were points of vantage, from which they defied the royal authority. Against the chief of these cities, the seaport of Rochelle, Richelieu turned

his forces. After a desperate siege, in spite of English aid, the city was compelled to surrender. By the Edict of Alais, 1629, the Huguenots, while retaining liberty of conscience, secured them by the Edict of Nantes, were deprived of their strongholds, and reduced to the common condition of all subjects of the king.

The struggle with the nobles was long and desperate. Although Richelieu enjoyed the confidence and support of the king, he had to strive, nevertheless, against the influence of the king's immediate family. The queen-mother, and the queen, a Spanish princess, were with the nobles. Marie de Medicis summoned her son "to choose between his mother and a valet." Once the king vacillated and the enemies of Richelieu rejoiced. Richelieu prepared to leave Paris; but the king summoned him to an audience, and restored him to his power. This was the famous "Day of Dupes." "Richelieu packed his boxes in the morning; his enemies at night."

Richelieu conquered the nobles by enforcing against them the royal laws, repressing their disorders and checking their lawlessness, which arose from their pride of independence and belief in their superiority to the law. The great work of Richelieu, however, is his extension of the power of the royal government in the provinces. He sent into the provinces "*intendants*¹ of justice, peace, and finance," young and ambitious lawyers, eager to earn fame and nobility, devoted servants of the government of the king. These men, little by little, usurped the functions of the local grandees, who for generations had served, half independently, as royal governors. In this wise, and by the orderly arrangement of the central government at Paris, Richelieu built up a form of centralized control, such as

¹ The *intendant* was an officer of the king, sent into the province to attend to the judicial and financial interests of the crown. By faithful service he gained nobility.

Europe had never known since Roman times, a system so complete and automatic, that it served, in spite of abuses, and with weak kings at the helm of state, until the end of the eighteenth century.

Louis XIV, who succeeded his father, Louis XIII, in 1643, was five years of age. His mother, Anne of Austria, was appointed regent, and the minister of

Mazarin.

her choice was an Italian, Cardinal Mazarin, a pupil of Richelieu. In Mazarin's time the nobles rose against the royal power in the conspiracy of the "Fronde." The Queen and Mazarin were more than once obliged to flee

from Paris. This last struggle against the royal authority filled France for two years with the horrors of civil war, and ended in the triumph of the centralized monarchy. At the death of Mazarin, in 1661, Louis XIV himself assumed the direction of affairs.



MAZARIN.

In Colbert Louis XIV found, at the beginning of his personal reign, a minister of finance of great ability. The finances of the

Colbert.

country at the death of Mazarin were in great confusion. Corruption was the order of the day; nor had Mazarin been wholly free from suspicion. Of eighty-four millions collected in taxes in 1661 only twenty-three millions were turned into the royal treasury. Colbert attacked these abuses; new methods of collection increased the revenues of the state and lessened the burden of the people.

But Colbert's measures were not limited to reforms. He sought to bring about an age of prosperity through manufacture; and to secure the best results, he thought industry must be under government control. This theory of

“paternalism,” a product of the ideas of government then prevailing, is in direct opposition to our present ideas of freedom in industry. By a series of protective tariffs, by the introduction of skilled workmen from abroad, by subsidies, and by minute government supervision of manufacture, intended to secure the best quality of product, Colbert built up French industry. Swedes and Germans established the iron industry; Dutch weavers the manufacture of cloth; the silk manufactures of Lyons became famous; and English and Venetian lace-makers established their trade at Valenciennes. Colbert sought to develop foreign commerce by similar means. East and West India Companies were organized, and given a monopoly of trade.

SOURCE REVIEW

To be the chief servant of a king, and to endure his whims and uncurbed temper, must have called for great devotion and self-control. Henry IV often had occasion to repent his violent conduct toward his faithful minister, Sully. The following is one of the many instances of the kind related by Sully in his *Memoirs*: “I was still confined to the house by an unfortunate accident when the King came to me one day to confer with me about some affair of the heart, which I have forgotten. All I remember is that I was bold enough to represent to Henry that affairs of this kind, which so little suited with his age and dignity, were so many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in something more fatal. My freedom, often graciously received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myself the most lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in such wrath that he was heard to say aloud, and with great emotion: ‘It is impossible to bear with this man any longer; he is eternally contradicting me, and approves of nothing I propose; but, by Heaven! I will make him obey me—he shall not appear in my presence these fifteen days.’ My disgrace appeared to all that were present as a thing absolutely resolved

on. My servants were afflicted ; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it.

“At seven the next morning the king came to the Arsenal with five or six persons, whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me notice of his arrival, but walked up to my apartment and tapped at my closet door himself. Upon my asking, ‘Who is there?’ he replied, ‘It is the king.’ I knew his voice and was not a little surprised at this visit. ‘Well, what are you doing here?’ said he, entering with Roquelaure, De Vic, Zamet, La Varenne, and Erard the engineer ; for he had occasion to speak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my secretaries. And, indeed, my table was all overspread with letters and statements of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day. ‘And how long have you been thus employed?’ said his majesty. ‘Ever since three o’clock,’ I replied. ‘Well, Roquelaure,’ he said, turning to him, ‘for how much money would you lead this life?’ ‘In truth, Sire, not for all your treasures,’ replied Roquelaure. Henry made no answer, but, commanding every one to retire, he began to confer with me upon matters in which it was impossible for me to be of his opinion ; and this he readily perceived when I told him coldly that I had no advice to give ; that his majesty having, doubtless, taken his resolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, since he was displeased when my sentiments happened not to agree with his. ‘Oh, oh !’ said Henry, smiling, and giving me a little tap on the cheek, ‘so you are on the reserve with me, and are angry at what happened yesterday ! However, I am so no longer with you ; come, come, embrace me, and live with me in the same familiarity as usual ; for I love you not the less for it ; on the contrary, from the moment that you cease to contend with me on occasions where I am convinced you cannot approve my conduct, I shall believe you no longer love me.’”

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§ 17. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)

The peace of Augsburg, 1555, sought to put an end to the religious struggles in Germany by fixing the territorial arrangement as it existed at the termination of hostilities in 1552, and permanently limiting the extension of either religion. It made no provision for the growth or decline of the new faith. Several of its clauses were certain to become subjects of disagreement. One, called the "Ecclesiastical Reservation," provided that any dignitary of the Church, a bishop or an abbot, for example, who embraced the new doctrines should surrender the territory over which he had ruled as a spiritual prince. This provision presented grave difficulties in the Rhine country, where the population became Protestant, and the bishops desired to convert their lands into temporal sovereignties. At Cologne the Archbishop Elector, Gebhard Truchsess, was converted to Protestantism, and sought to retain his archbishopric. Deposed by the pope, he was driven out by Spanish troops, and the affair resulted in much bitterness.

The secularizations were another bone of contention. No Protestant prince was permitted to appropriate any portion of ecclesiastical property, as, for example, the lands of a monastery, which had not been secularized in 1552. By this provision Protestant princes were obliged to tolerate the existence of little centers of Catholic influence in the midst of territories otherwise wholly Protestant. Another weakness of the treaty was its failure to recognize Calvinism, a religion which was making great gains in South Germany and in the Rhine valley. The Calvinists, having no legal status in the treaty, were willing to see it broken.

During the years immediately following the peace of Augsburg, when Protestantism was growing in Germany,

the Protestant princes treated the provisions of Augsburg, particularly in regard to secularizations, very lightly. When, however, on account of Jesuit effort and the dissensions among the Protestants themselves, the spread of the new doctrines ceased, and Catholicism began to gain ground, then the Catholic princes began to insist upon a



MARTINITZ AND SLAWATA.

literal interpretation of the clauses of the treaty. A struggle was inevitable, and the two parties began to prepare for it; the Protestants with the organization of the "Union," under the guidance of Christian of Anhalt; the Catholics with the "League," under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria.

Since the times of John Huss Bohemia had been a center of religious unrest. It had been retained in the

The war in
Bohemia.

church only by the concession of special privileges to the Bohemians in the exercise of their religion. The Austrian ruler of Bohemia, the Emperor Rudolph II, granted in 1609 a royal charter which gave to Bohemia a certain amount of national independence of Austria, and certain privileges, political and religious. Under the Emperor Matthias this charter was violated; the Archbishop of Prague, an Austrian official, suppressed and destroyed

churches of the reformed faith. A riot followed; a mob, led by Count Henry of Thurn, stormed the palace, threw Martinitz and Slawata, the imperial regents, from a window, and organized a revolutionary government. The Emperor Matthias died in March following, and the Bohemians refused to recognize his successor, Ferdinand of Styria. They proclaimed as king of Bohemia Frederick V, Elector-Palatine of the Rhine, who had recently married Elizabeth, daughter of the English king, James I.

But James I made no effort to aid his son-in-law. Even the "Union," ruled by Lutheran influences, held aloof (for Frederick was a Calvinist prince), and Frederick was left to meet the overwhelming forces of the Emperor. Bohemia was easily overrun, and the war carried into the Palatinate. The Bavarians, under Tilly, and Spanish troops from the Netherlands, ravaged the fair Rhenish country for three years. Frederick fled to England, and his electoral office was given to Maximilian of Bavaria. In this first struggle the Catholic powers had won an easy victory, and the Lutheran leaders of the "Union" were not grieved to see a Calvinist state despoiled.

The rapid invasion of North Germany by the imperial troops at length aroused the Protestant states to fear for their own safety. Christian of Denmark sought to stem the Catholic advance. The Emperor was without an army, but chance brought to his aid an able commander in the person of Wallenstein, a Bohemian nobleman. Wallenstein had distinguished himself in the Bohemian campaign against the Protestants, and was rewarded with confiscated estates and the title of Duke of Friedland. He offered to equip an army free of cost to the Emperor, providing for its subsistence and pay from the pillage of the enemies' country. Thus commissioned, he assembled an army of freebooters, mounted Croats from Hungary, foot-soldiers from Holland, the riff-raff of a generation of wars. This system

The Danish
period.

of great mercenary armies, without patriotism, attended with a camp-following of desperate men and women, twice as numerous as the army itself, moving over the country like a scourge, was the feature that made the



LANDING OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Thirty Years' War the most destructive and terrible of modern times. The Danish king was defeated and North Germany overrun by Wallenstein. In the moment of victory the Emperor issued an edict of restitution, demanding the restoration to the Catholic Church of all the ecclesiastical property confiscated since the convention of Passau.

Up to this time the Emperor had had his way ; but now a new defender of Protestantism appeared in the person of the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic character of the time. With his strictly disciplined army, he crossed the Baltic and moved through North Germany against the imperial forces, the equal, if not the superior, of Wallenstein himself. Although prevented by the jealousy of the elector of Brandenburg from reaching Magdeburg in time to prevent the pillage of the city, he defeated Tilly near Leipzig, and

Swedish period.

overcame Wallenstein at the battle of Lützen, where Gustavus himself was killed. The campaign of the Swedish king, heroic as it was, had little effect, except to break the forces of the Emperor. The war still continued, and the Elector of Saxony sought a separate peace and alliance with the Emperor.

The war dragged on. The Emperor was too feeble, the Protestant princes too selfish and disunited to give the final stroke. It was the intervention of a Catholic power, fighting upon the Protestant side, that broke the spell. The motive of Richelieu in intervening was to prevent the ultimate triumph of the house of Austria, the ancient enemy of

The intervention
of France.



LÜTZEN, 1632 DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

France, and to preserve the principle of disunion among the German states. Germany, welded into a Catholic empire under the absolute control of the Hapsburgs, would be a dangerous neighbor for France. The intervention took

place in 1635. First the Netherlands were invaded ; then the Swedish army, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, passed under the leadership of France. Richelieu died in 1642, but his foreign policy was carried on by Mazarin. French victories in Bavaria, the capture of Prague, and the threatened advance upon Vienna brought the Emperor Ferdinand II to terms.

A congress representing the powers of Europe met in 1645 in Westphalia : the Catholic delegates at Münster ; the Protestants at Osnabrück. The negotiations lasted three years. The Spanish deputies withdrew, refusing to be a party to a general religious peace ; but signed the separate treaty of Münster, recognizing the independence of Holland.

Peace of
Westphalia,

The Peace of Westphalia regulated first of all the religious questions of Germany. The principle of *cujus regio, eius religio* was maintained, each prince retaining the right to impose his own religion upon his subjects ; but dissenting subjects were given three years in which to migrate, and were allowed to retain possession of their goods. Ecclesiastical property, secularized before 1619 in the Palatinate, and before 1624 in the rest of Germany, might be held by Protestant princes. Calvinists were admitted to the benefits of the Treaty of Augsburg, and given religious liberty in the meaning of that document. Thus the religious question was settled, but at a fearful cost. The wealth and power of Germany were broken, whole districts were desolated, and cities lay in ruins. In country places the arts of peace were forgotten, and wolves roamed over the ruins of former villages.

The power of the Emperor in Germany was reduced to a mere shadow. He became little more than the president of the Diet, which held its regular meetings at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Each of the 360 princes of Germany was made an absolute sovereign in his territories, with the right to make treaties and contract alliances with foreign states.



Thus the separatist principle triumphed completely in Germany, as a result of the religious struggle. Germany, desolated by war, became a patchwork of little states, and for two centuries ceased to contest with France the supremacy of Europe. The Treaty of Westphalia ends the period of Religious Wars, and effected the most important political rearrangement of Europe since the Treaty of Verdun (843).



SCENE IN THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

SELECT READING AND SOURCE REVIEW

I. Gustavus Adolphus.—Improvements in methods of warfare and in discipline: "He was indisputably the greatest general of his age, and the bravest soldier in the army which he had formed. Familiar with the tactics of Greece and Rome, he had discovered a more effective system of warfare, which was adopted as a model by the most eminent commanders of subsequent times. He reduced the unwieldy squadrons of cavalry, and rendered their movements more light and rapid; and with the same view, he widened the intervals between his battalions. Instead of the usual array

in a single line, he disposed his forces in two lines, that the second might advance in the event of the first giving away.

He made up for his want of cavalry by placing infantry among the horse; a practise which frequently decided the victory. Europe first learned from him the importance of infantry. All Germany was astonished at the strict discipline which, at the first, so creditably distinguished the Swedish armies within their territories; all disorders were punished with the utmost severity, particularly impiety, theft, gambling, and dueling. The Swedish articles of war enforced frugality. In the camp, the king's tent not excepted, neither silver nor gold was to be seen.'—Schiller: *Thirty Years' War*.

II. The Scourge of Germany.—Military life of the time, described by Adam Junghaus, a contemporary: “Nothing is truer than this: that a soldier must have to eat and to drink, whether it is paid for by the sexton or the parson; for a lansquenet has neither house nor home, neither cow nor calf, and nobody will bring his food to him. Therefore he must pick it up wherever he can find it, and buy without money, whether the farmer likes it or not. To-day the brethren must suffer hunger and endure hard times; to-morrow they will have such abundance that they may clean their boots with wine and beer. Then their dogs will eat roast meat, and the girls and boys will have good positions: they will be housewives and butlers over other people's property. When the owner has been driven out with wife and child, then come the sad days for the chickens and the geese, the fat cows, the oxen, the swine, and the sheep. Money is divided up by the hatful, velvet, silks, and cloths measured with long spears: cows are killed for their hides, chests and boxes are broken into, and when all is plundered and nothing more is left then the house is set on fire.

“This is the kind of fire for a lansquenet, when fifty villages and hamlets are in flames. Then they go on further and begin again. That sort of thing makes fighting men gay, and it is a very desirable sort of life—except for those who pay the reckoning. It lures many a mother's son into the field, who never comes back home again, nor bothers his friends again; for the saying is: Lansquenets have crooked fingers and lame hands for work, but for pilfering and plunder the lame hands

become straight and strong. That has been so before our time, and will be after we are gone. Whithersoever the fighting people go, they carry with them the keys to all apartments, their axes and clubs, and when there is a lack of stables for the horses, it makes no difference; they stall their horses in churches and hermitages and in lordly halls. If dry wood is wanting for the fire, that is no matter, there are chairs, benches, plows, and everything the house contains. For green wood one need not go far; just cut down the fruit trees that stand near by in the orchard; for the saying is: While we live, let us live; to-morrow we are away. Therefore, Master Host, cheer up. You have a guest or two, whom you will be glad to be rid of; therefore bring out the best you have, and charge it up on the shutter. If the house burns, the chalk will burn too. That is the lansquenet's way: to have it charged, and ride away, and pay when we come back."

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§ 18. AGE OF LOUIS XIV

When Louis XIV took up the reins of government at the death of Mazarin, 1661, the foundations were already laid for the erection of an absolute monarchy.

Inheritance of Louis XIV. The enemies of the royal power had been vanquished through the labors of Richelieu and his pupil. The Estates General, organ of popular representation, had been discarded in 1614, and was never called again during the long reigns of Louis XIV and his successor, Louis XV. When these kings wished to obtain popular sanction for their acts, they convoked the Assembly of Notables, whose members were carefully chosen by the king's agents. The Protestants had ceased to be dangerous since Richelieu had deprived them of their political privileges. The nobles were submissive; their castles were

destroyed, their haughty spirit broken. Nothing was wanting but a strong personality, and that Louis XIV himself supplied. At the death of Mazarin he said to his chancellor: "I shall be for the future my own chief minister. I ask you and command you that no order shall be sealed except at my command; and you, my secretary of state, and you, my superintendent of finance, I order you to sign nothing except with my consent."

Louis XIV entertained a high idea of his rights of sovereignty; he thought he held his throne directly from God.



LOUIS XIV.

Theory of the
divine right of
kings,

This opinion
was perhaps
not new; but

it was in France, under Louis XIV, that it came to be erected into a principle, the vital principle of European monarchy in the seventeenth century. If the King of France was the chosen instrument of God, then the divine approval was given to the principle of absolute monarchy, and no other form

of government possessed the divine sanction. This was the conclusion accepted by conservative society under the *Ancien Régime*.

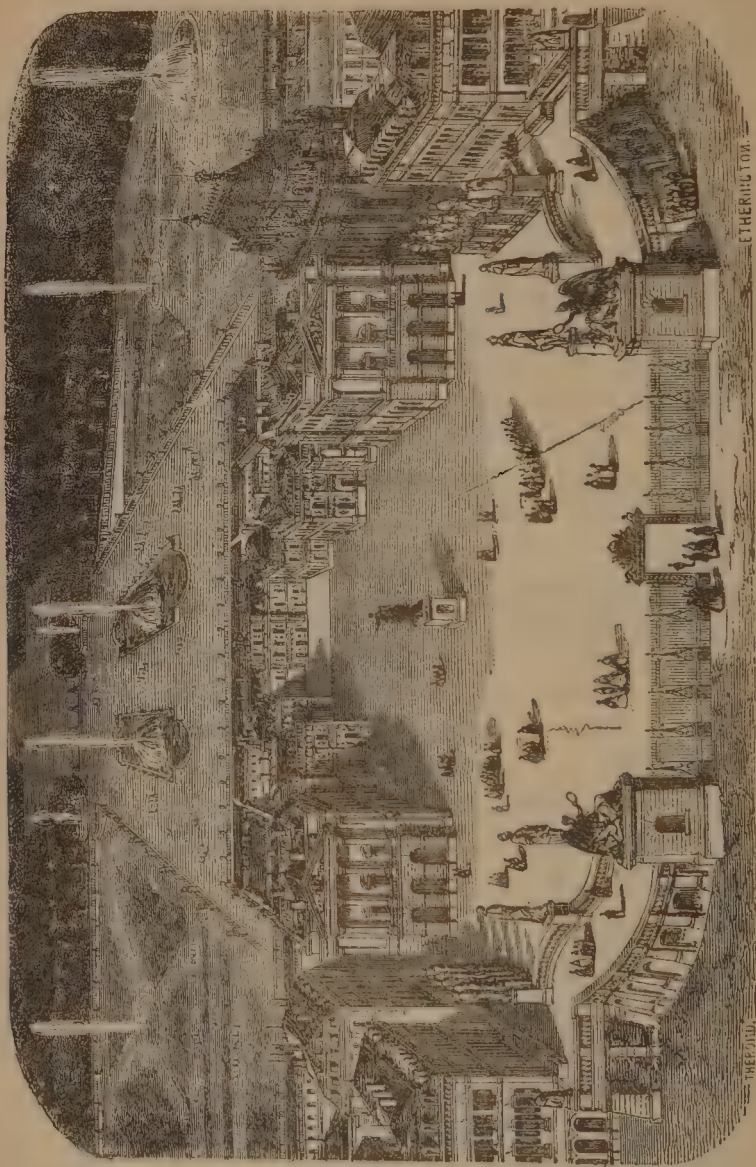
Bossuet, the court preacher of Louis XIV, in a book written for the guidance of the son and heir of the king, says: "God is the true king; he establishes the kings as his ministers and reigns through them over his people.—O, kings, you are yourselves gods, for you carry on your forehead the divine imprint. To speak against the king is a crime as great as blasphemy against God." Louis himself, in his memoirs, prepared for the instruction of

the dauphin, betrays his conviction of the divine character of his office. "He who gave kings to the world desires that they should be respected as his lieutenants, reserving to himself the sole right of examining their conduct. It is his will that whosoever is born subject to the king should obey him without hesitation." That this theory of divine right was accepted by the contemporaries of the *Grand Monarche* is beyond doubt. One who was present at the death-bed of the king related as follows: "I watched the king while they bore to him the *viaticum*. I saw the great tears that fell from his eyes, evidence of a communion between their majesties divine and human." It was left for the eighteenth century to discover the hollowness of these pretensions, when the personality of the great Louis had departed, and in his place was found a man of evil life, indifferent to the sufferings of France, and powerless to aid her in her effort to adapt herself to the march of progress.

About the person of Louis XIV was assembled the most brilliant court that Europe had ever seen. All other courts

The court of Louis
XIV.

of the century were feeble imitations of the household of the "King-Sun" ("*le roi soleil*"). The royal palaces of Paris were too narrow for his establishment. At Versailles he built an enormous residence, which, with its fountains and terraced gardens remains to-day one of the sights of Europe. This he made the royal residence; here he lived with oriental magnificence; here he finished the work which Richelieu had begun and Mazarin carried out against the nobles in the struggle of the Fronde. Insidiously Louis converted the nobility of France into a class of royal dependents. Lured to Versailles, their fortunes dissipated in the extravagances of court life, the nobles were driven to seek the generosity of the king. Pensions and appointments, civil and religious, were freely given, but only to those who acknowledged his authority with abject sub-



VERSAILLES.

ETHERINGTON.

THEYER.

servience. His keen eye was everywhere. He observed, in his passage through the throng of courtiers at Versailles, the absence of those whose presence he desired. It was a demerit to miss the annual sojourn at court, a disgrace to stay away entirely. When an office was sought by his friends for such a one, the king replied with vigor: "I do not know him;" or: "He is a man I never see;" and this reply was final. To such a pass had been brought the proud nobility of France that princes of the royal blood competed for the privilege of presenting his garments to the king at the royal morning toilet. "The countenance of the King," said La Bruyère, "is the whole happiness of the courtier."

The Peace of Westphalia completed the supremacy of France. One other virile power remained on the continent of Europe; but the ambitions of Sweden for the control of the Baltic led her to the North and East, away from the sphere of French control. Louis XIV sought the extension of the area and influence of France. Claiming the right of succession to the throne of Spain, by virtue of his marriage with the daughter of Philip IV of Spain, Louis plunged Europe into a general war, which lasted for fourteen years. By the terminal peace of Utrecht (1713), a great territorial adjustment like the Peace of Westphalia, Spain was shorn of her possessions in the Netherlands, which went to Austria; and Louis's son, Philip of Anjou, was seated upon the throne of Spain as Philip V, founder of the Spanish Bourbons. Thus French influence prevailed in Spain.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) was the logical result of the French spirit of unity and centralization. "One faith, one law, one king," was the watchword of the Bourbon monarchy. Nevertheless, the revocation inflicted serious loss upon France. The Huguenots, who in the Valois period were for the most part turbulent

Foreign policy of
Louis XIV.

nobles, had come to be, since the suppression of their political privileges, mainly artisans, merchants, and landholders. In spite of the provision of the Edict of Revocation forbidding the emigration of Protestants, 300,000 left the realm and carried into Holland, to London and Berlin, the secrets of French manufactures and a hatred for their native country.

SOURCE REVIEW

The Toilette of the King.—A rigid etiquette ruled every hour of the king's day. From the moment of his awakening, and during the stages of his toilette, Louis XIV received successive deputations of princes, lords, and officials; the proudest nobles were eager to perform the menial services of valet, and secure thereby admission to the intimate circle of the king. "The honor of handing the king his shirt is reserved to the sons and grandsons of France; in default of these, to the princes of the blood or those legitimated; in their default, to the grand-chamberlain or to the first gentleman of the bed-chamber; the latter case, it must be observed, being very rare, the princes being obliged to be present at the king's rising as well as the princesses at that of the queen. At last the shirt is presented and a valet carries off the old one; the first valet of the wardrobe and the first *valet-de-chambre* hold the fresh one, each by a right and left arm respectively, while the two other valets, during this operation, extend his dressing-gown in front of the king to serve as a screen. The shirt is now on his back and the toilet commences. A *valet-de-chambre* supports a mirror before the king while two others on the two sides light it up, if occasion requires, with flambeaus. Valets of the wardrobe fetch the rest of the attire; the grand master of the wardrobe puts the vest on and the doublet, attaches the blue ribbon, and clasps the sword around him; then a valet assigned to the cravats brings several of these in a basket, while the master of the wardrobe arranges around the king's neck that which the king selects. After this a valet assigned to the handkerchiefs brings three of these on a silver salver, while the grand master of the wardrobe offers the salver to

the king, who chooses one. Finally the master of the wardrobe hands to the king his hat, his gloves, and his cane. The king steps to the side of the bed, kneels on a cushion and says his prayers. This done, the king announces the order of the day and passes with the leading persons of his court into the cabinet, where he sometimes gives audience.”—Taine: *Ancient Régime* (adapted from the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon*).

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§ 19. THE REVOLUTION OF ENGLAND

The theory of the divine right of kings met with more opposition in England than in France. To be sure the Tudor kings, from Henry VII to Elizabeth, had ruled absolutely ; but their absolutism was permitted for at least two reasons : their reigns were full of danger from foreign foes, and England was in need of a strong hand in the period of religious wars ; again, the Tudor sovereigns, the Henrys and Elizabeth, were strong and vigorous characters, whose brilliant qualities won them popularity, and made them the champions of the English interests at home and abroad. For these reasons the constitutional limitations, so painfully and laboriously built up against personal and arbitrary government in earlier times, were, in the Tudor period, suffered to decline.

The Stuarts, who succeeded the Tudors at the death of Elizabeth in 1603, were of different stripe, either dull or frivolous ; nor were they able to associate themselves with the progressive elements of the English race. James I., the successor of Elizabeth, was narrow and pedantical, and gained for himself the title of the “ Wisest Fool in Christendom.” But he was filled with the idea of divine right, and resented any interference on the part of Parliament.

During the last years of Elizabeth's reign the Puritan or Calvinistic party was growing rapidly in England. The

The Puritans. Puritans were distinguished from the Anglicans, or Church of England people, by the austerity of their morals and their stern rules of life and conduct. Opposed to the king as the head of the Established Church, they stood for popular liberties and democratic ideas at variance with the Bourbon-Stuart theories of divine right. The Puritan party was strongly



CHARLES I., BY VANDYKE.

represented in the House of Commons, which, by virtue of England's increasing wealth, was coming to be much more powerful than ever before, its members constituting an aristocracy of wealth side by side with the feudal aristocracy of blood.

The struggle between the king and the middle classes broke forth

during the reign of Charles I.

Charles I., son and successor of James I. In 1628

Charles was compelled by need of funds to sign the "Petition of Right," which gave to Parliament the right to vote all taxes. This he violated in the following year, and upon the refusal of Parliament to grant him money, he dissolved that body and sought for eleven years to govern England without a Parliament. To aid him in securing a revenue, he revived an ancient tax, called "Ship-money," formerly levied upon the maritime counties of England for purposes of naval defence, and made it general for the realm. This was resisted by John Hampden as illegal, and, although he was defeated, his bold example strengthened the popular resistance to the arbitrary measures of the king.

In Scotland the efforts of Archbishop Laud to change

the forms of Presbyterian worship and introduce the English prayer-book led to civil war. Charles called Parliament in 1640, and strove by compromise to quiet the popular indignation. But the leaders of the popular party were not easily appeased; a bill was voted condemning the general policy of the crown. The king demanded the arrest of the five principal signers of the bill, but they had escaped. Angry at this check to his authority, Charles left London, gathered his friends about him, and sought with warlike measures to coerce the Parliamentary faction.

The extreme Puritan party—the “Roundheads,” they were called—took the field against the

The “Great Rebellion.”

“Cavaliers,” or partisans of the king. The Puritans soon found a leader of ability in Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell’s troops, well drilled, prepared to “fight or pray,” merited, with their heroic courage, the name

of “Ironsides.” King Charles, defeated at Naseby, took refuge in Scotland, but was delivered to Parliament in 1647. Cromwell seized upon the king; drove from Parliament a hundred members who opposed extreme measures, and with the consent of the remainder organized a special high court of justice, before which Charles was put to trial. Condemned to death as a tyrant and traitor, he was beheaded.

For four years England lived under the rule of the “Rump” Parliament. Cromwell and his “Ironsides” overran Ireland, and defeated Charles II, who, accepted by the Scots, invaded England with a strong army. In 1653 Cromwell and the army, dissatisfied with the “Rump” Parliament, dissolved it by force, and Cromwell assumed



OLIVER CROMWELL.

the title of Lord Protector. The Protectorate was a glorious period of English history; an alliance with Cromwell

The Commonwealth.

was eagerly sought by foreign princes, and at no time had England been so strong abroad.

England would have been able, under the guidance of Cromwell, to dispute successfully with France the supremacy of Europe; but the Lord Protector died in 1658, fully realizing that his death would be the end of his great work. His son Richard assumed without resistance

the title of Protector, but he had no ability for public affairs, and abdicated after a brief experience of eight months. A period of struggle followed, ending in the restoration of the Stuart claimant, Charles II.



ENGLISH GENTLEMEN OF THE
STUART PERIOD.

The Stuarts profited little by the lessons of adversity. Charles

Restoration and
Revolution

II brought back those extravagances of the court so dis-

tasteful to the middle class of Englishmen. His policy was subservient to the desires of the French king, Louis XIV, and he plotted to restore the Catholic faith; yet so strong was the de-

votion of his subjects to the principle of legitimacy that he reigned for twenty-five years, and left the crown to his brother, James II (1685).

James II emphasized in his reign the unpopular characteristics of his brother. He assumed the right to suspend Parliament, to modify its laws, and to interfere with the decisions of the courts. In his household he celebrated the rites of the Catholic Church with the pomp of Versailles. For three years England bore with this king, who

represented the negation of all she had struggled to establish, but was looking forward to the eventual succession of Mary, eldest daughter of James, who was married to the Protestant prince, William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. When, however, in 1688, a son was born to James, English patience reached its limit, and William was invited to come and take possession of the government. He landed in November on the coast of England. Upon his banner were the words "*Pro religione et libertate*;" his device: "*Je maintiendrai*" ("I shall maintain," i.e. the rights of the nation). James fled to the court of Louis XIV. Parliament declared the throne to be vacant, and promulgated a "Bill of Rights," affirming the ancient rights and liberties of England. The crown was offered to William and Mary, and they accepted it, under the constitutional limitations of the "Bill of Rights." Thus by the revolution of 1688 England overthrew the principle of divine right, weakly championed by the Stuarts, and established a constitutional monarchy, the gift of Parliament and the nation.

SOURCE REVIEW

Cromwell turns out the Rump Parliament.—"Wednesday, 20th April.—The Parliament sitting as usual, and being on debate upon the bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes, with grey worsted stockings, and sat down as he used to do in an ordinary place. After a while he rose up, put off his hat, and spake; at the first and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament, for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults. Then he said: 'Perhaps you think this is not Parliamentary language: I confess it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me.' Then he put on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floor in

the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly upon some persors, as Sir R. Whitlock, one of the Commissioners for the Great Seal, Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known that he meant them. After this he said to Colonel Harrison (who was a member of the House): 'Call them in.' Then Harrison went out, and presently brought in Lieutenant-Colonel Wortley (who commanded the General's own regiment of foot) with five or six files of musqueteers, about twenty or thirty, with their musquets. Then the General, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, 'Fetch him down.' Harrison went to the Speaker, and spoke to him to come down, but the Speaker sat still, and said nothing. 'Take him down,' said the General; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down. And it happened that day, that Algernon Sydney sat next to the Speaker on the right hand; the General said to Harrison, 'Put him out.' Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The General said again, 'Put him out.' Then Harrison and Wortley put their hands upon Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door. Then the General went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the Speaker, and said, 'Take away these baubles.' So the soldiers took away the mace, and all the House went out; and at the going out, they say, the General said to young Sir Henry Vane, calling him by name, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a juggler, and had not so much as common honesty. All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the key with the mace was carried away, as I heard, by Colonel Otley."—*Sydney Papers*.

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CHAPTER VII

The Eighteenth Century

§ 20. BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM

DURING the eighteenth century the personal governments of the Bourbons and Hapsburgs were moving to their decline. The growth of an intelligent middle class, alive to the advantages of trade and industry, accustomed to habits of thrift and economy, increased the dissatisfaction with the loose and extravagant methods of absolute monarchy. In France the reign of Louis XIV, with its expensive dynastic wars, left the country in a condition of financial ruin. His great-grandson and successor, Louis XV, lacked the stern and vigorous qualities of the *Grand Monarche*; in his feeble hands the system of Louis XIV displayed only its vices. Too indolent and self-indulgent to grapple with the problems of his time, he left the government to his mistresses and favorites, who squandered the resources of France in purposeless wars and in the support of a huge and insatiable aristocracy. Not that Louis XV did not recognize the drift of affairs; he was philosopher enough for this, and the immense cynicism of his life is summed up in his remark that "France will last long enough for me."

For posterity, however, the weakness of his rule was an element of advantage. The severe system of repression, devised by Louis XIV, to cut off all freedom of thought and liberty of expression that might serve to weaken the absolute character of his authority, although it continued in form, was in reality but an empty shell in the reign of Louis XV. Under cover of strict censorship, the printing presses

of France poured forth a stream of philosophy, attacking the principle of divine right; against the protests of the church, which stirred the government now and then into spasms of repression, the very foundations of the old system of theology were undermined. The king was too luxurious and too careless to intervene for the salvation of his system and his throne.

In one respect the foreign policy of Louis XV reversed the tradition of centuries. Peace was made with Austria, the ancient enemy and rival of France, and Louis XVI. this unnatural alliance was cemented with the marriage of the Dauphin, afterward Louis XVI, with a daughter of the house of Hapsburg, Marie Antoinette.

In 1774, at the death of his grandfather, this young prince came to the throne. His ability was small, but his life was pure and he had the interests of France at heart. Far from being indifferent, like his grandfather, he took the affairs of his realm in hand, and sought to bring order out of the general financial confusion. He called to his aid men of pronounced liberal views: Turgot, an economist of the new school, and Necker, a Swiss financier. These men strove to curtail the privileges of the upper classes, by making all property alike subject to taxation; to modernize industry by the destruction of the gild system; and to cut down the expenses of the court. To this the king at first agreed; but he stood alone in his court and family. His brothers and his friends, his young and frivolous wife, all sought to dissuade him from a step which threatened their interests and pleasures. At last he yielded, dismissed his liberal ministers, and fell back into the old system of apathy and powerlessness. A strong king, conscious of the needs of the times, might perhaps have led France through a peaceful reconstruction of her political and social organization; but the task was too great for Louis XVI; it was left for the people to accomplish this for themselves amid the terrors of revolution.

In Austria a similar task was attempted by a man of more ability. Joseph II, Emperor and ruler of the possessions of the Hapsburgs, King of Hungary and of Bohemia, was a man of advanced ideas. Dissatisfied with the unwieldy character of his great patchwork empire, he wished to suppress the innumerable charters and privileges which his various possessions had inherited from the Middle Ages, and weld them all together into a unified and homogeneous Austrian state. The task was one of great difficulty. In the several states that one by one had come together under Hapsburg control were to be found the extremes of political and social development: Flanders, on the north and west of the Hapsburg lands, was a country of great industrial activity; Hungary, on the south and east, was an agricultural state of the feudal type, where serfdom still existed in its medieval form.

The Emperor's scheme of reorganization contemplated the general introduction of the German language, a uniform system of laws and administration, education under the supervision of the state, and the abolition of serfdom in Hungary and Bohemia. The inauguration of these reforms brought down upon Joseph a storm of opposition. The Flemish cities resisted a political rearrangement which deprived them of their city charters, dearly bought with blood and treasure; the clergy were infuriated at the suppression of monasteries and the establishment of an imperial system of education beyond their control, and branded Joseph as an infidel; the Hungarian lords bitterly resented the abolition of their feudal rights, and the absorption of the crown of Hungary into the Austrian state. The opposition evoked by the reform edicts on every side threatened to disrupt the Empire. Joseph was forced to yield, and abandon his efforts for reform; obstacles of race and language and religious bigotry could not be legislated away by imperial edict. Some great upheaval of the middle

Joseph's projects
of reorganization.



classes was necessary. Only after the sword of Napoleon had swept from central Europe the vestiges of feudalism could the dreams of Joseph II be realized.

Not alone in France and Austria was tried the experiment of benevolent despotism. The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of philosophic despots and experimenting ministers. Other countries. In Spain, Aranda, minister of Charles III; in Portugal, Pombal, both thoroughly devoted to the principle of royal absolutism, were nevertheless believers in the modern doctrines of reform, and sought to overcome, with the reorganization of education and industry, the exhaustion and lethargy of their peoples. The influence of the Jesuits in education and government was an object of attack, and the pressure of the Catholic powers brought about the abolition of the order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. In the Italian states as well, the impulse toward reform was felt. Naples enjoyed a period of enlightened rule under the Bourbon king, Ferdinand IV. His minister, Tanucci, deprived the barons of the feudal right of justice. In Tuscany, the Grand Duke Leopold, brother of Joseph II, projected the first uniform code of laws, and made of his little duchy the most modern state of Europe.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Private Life of Louis XVI; his tastes and character.—

“The only passion ever shown by Louis XVI was for hunting; he was so much occupied by it that when I went up into his private closets, at Versailles, after the tenth of August, I saw on the staircase six frames, in which were seen statements of all his hunts, both when dauphin and when king. In them was detailed the number, kind, and quality of the game he had killed at each hunting party, with recapitulations for every month, every season, and every year of his reign.

Above the king's library was a forge, two anvils, and a vast number of iron tools; various common locks, well made

and perfect; some secret locks, and locks ornamented with gilt copper. It was there that Gamin taught the king the art of lock-making. 'The king was good, forbearing, timid, inquisitive, and addicted to sleep,' said Gamin to me; he was fond of lock-making to excess, and he concealed himself from the court and the queen to file and forge with me.

There were two men in Louis XVI—the man of knowledge and the man of will. The first of these possessed very extended and varied qualifications; his memory contained an infinite number of names and situations; he remembered quantities and numbers wonderfully. But on important affairs of state the king of will and command was nowhere to be found. Louis XVI was, upon the throne, exactly what those weak temperaments, whom nature has rendered incapable of an opinion, are in society. Although amid various counsels he often knew which was the best, he never had the resolution to say: 'I prefer the advice of such a person.' Herein lay the misfortunes of the state."—From Soulavie: *Memoirs of the Reign of Louis XVI.*

II. Joseph II at Paris, on a visit to his sister, Marie Antoinette.—"I was present at the queen's dinner almost every day. The Emperor would there speak much and fluently. He disguised none of his prejudices upon the subject of the etiquette and customs of the court of France, and even in the presence of the king aimed his sarcasms at them. The king smiled, but never made any answer; the queen appeared to feel pain from them.

"One day the queen was busied in signing warrants and orders for payment for her household, and was conversing with her secretary, who presented the papers one after another to be signed, and replaced them in his portfolio. While this was going forward the Emperor walked about the room; all at once he stopped, to censure the queen rather severely for signing all those papers without reading them, or, at least, without running her eye over them; and he spoke to her most judiciously upon the danger of signing her name inconsiderately."—Relation of Madame de Campan, First Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen.

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§ 21. FREDERICK THE GREAT.

The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of Prussia, and her entrance into the circle of the Great Powers of Europe. The house of Hohenzollern took its origin on the borders of Switzerland. In 1275 Frederick of Hohenzollern was made Burgrave of Nuremberg. At the time of the Council of Constance the Emperor Sigismund conferred upon Frederick IV the Electorate of Brandenburg, a Slavic country, lying between the Elbe and the Oder, on the western boundary of Poland. In the following century Albert of Brandenburg, a brother of the Elector, was elected Grand Master of the religious order of the Teutonic Knights, who had founded in Prussia, on the shores of the Baltic, a German colony as an outpost against the pagan Slavs. During the early Reformation Albert became Lutheran, secularized the territory of the Knights, and was recognized by the King of Poland as Duke of Prussia, subject to the suzerainty of Poland. In 1618 the line of Albert became extinct, and the duchy of Prussia reverted to the Elector. Meanwhile the Hohenzollerns came into possession of a claim upon the territories of Cleves and Juliers, in the lower Rhine country, next to Holland.

At the close of the Thirty Years' War the Great Elector received, in the rearrangement of Europe at the Peace of Westphalia, East Pomerania and the secularized states of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Cammin. As a result of the decline of the imperial power and the freedom of action given to the German princes, Brandenburg became a

Frederick
William, the
"Great Elector."

sovereign state. The Great Elector was an autocrat in his possessions, a miniature Louis XIV. His rule was wise, tending toward the development of the resources of his people. In 1660 he freed the duchy of Prussia from Polish control. Thus, step by step, a fragmentary domain, scattered from the middle Baltic to the Rhine, was welded with the firm hand of an able and ambitious prince.

The subjects of the Great Elector were warlike. The situation of Brandenburg, compelling that state to defend



FREDERICK THE GREAT.

itself against the Slavic nations of the East, tended to foster a military spirit. Of all the German states Brandenburg was best fitted, in the disruption of the Empire, to take the leadership of the Protestant states of the North against the Catholic primacy of the Hapsburgs. The struggle for the political supremacy of Germany between the two great houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg fills the history of Germany down to our time.

Frederick III, successor of the Great Elector, became Frederick I, King "of Prussia." Receiving permission of the Emperor, still his titular overlord, to assume the royal title for his Prussian lands, his title was confirmed by the peace of Utrecht in 1713. The son of Frederick I, who came to the throne as Frederick William I, was a curious character, but of immense use for the future of Prussia. A coarse and brutal man, a tyrant in his family and with his subjects, his delight was in his army. His sole extra-

Kingdom of
Prussia.

gance was to recruit, at any expense, wherever they might be found, the largest and finest men for his regiments. To Frederick his son, whom he sought in vain to form after his own coarse model, he left a well-drilled army, one of the best in Europe, and a well-filled treasury, important instruments in the hands of the ablest statesman and general of his times.

Frederick II came to the throne (1740) with great ambitions. He desired to round out his scattered possessions into a compact kingdom; to cease to be, as Voltaire said of him, “King of the Borders.” For the execution of his plans he possessed an army, a treasury, and a mind unfettered with scruples. Indifferent to the claims of justice, careless of good faith, and regardless of his obligations toward other princes, he was indomitable in adversity and moderate in the hour of triumph. An absolute sovereign, he left nothing to his ministers, but took upon himself the supervision of the minutest details.

Fortune favored Frederick at the start. In the year of his succession to the throne, the Emperor Charles VI died and left an heiress, Maria Theresa, a girl of twenty-three. A dozen claimants sought the imperial crown, some with dynastic claims, as the Elector of Saxony and the Elector of Bavaria. Frederick II had no claim but that of the sword, but he was the first to move upon the threatened Empire with the invasion of Silesia, at the same time assuring Maria Theresa “of the purity of his intentions, and his desire ever to devote himself to the service of the house of Austria.” He defeated the Austrians at Mollwitz; formed an alliance with the French, and recognized the Elector of Bavaria as Emperor with the title of Charles VII. The war was continued with varying success until the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, closed hostilities for the time. Maria Theresa confirmed the Prussian title to Silesia; the Spanish Bourbons obtained

Frederick the
Great.

some Italian duchies ; but with these losses Maria Theresa kept her Empire, overthrew the Bavarian claim, and



FRANCIS I, FOUNDER OF MODERN AUSTRIAN (HAPSBURG-LORRAINE) DYNASTY.

secured the coronation of her husband, Francis of Lorraine, as Emperor Francis I.

But the energetic heiress of the house of Hapsburg was not content to lose her province of Silesia without another struggle. In 1756 hostilities were resumed. This time

the Franco-Austrian alliance of 1756 placed France upon the side of the Empress. Frederick turned to England, and concluded in the same year the treaty of Westminster with George II. Sweden and Russia fell upon the borders of eastern Prussia; six armies gathered in upon the Prussian king. Frederick had a moment of despair; the odds were too great. In spite of the brilliant victories of Rosbach and Leuthen, Berlin was pillaged by the Russians, and the Prussian lands laid waste. Chance turned the tide. Peter II, an ardent admirer of Frederick, succeeded Elizabeth in Russia, and withdrew his troops. France had lost her colonies to England, and was tired of the war. Maria Theresa was forced to abandon her hope of destroying Prussia, and the Peace of Hubertsburg (1763) left Silesia to the Hohenzollerns.

SELECT READING

I. Frederick William I and his Grenadiers.—To secure recruits for his three battalions of giants the king was willing to spend sums which were enormous for the times and for the meagre revenues of Prussia. James Kirkham, an Irish recruit, is said to have cost six thousand dollars. "In the town of Jülich there lived and worked a tall young carpenter. One day a well-dressed, positive-looking gentleman enters the shop; wants 'a stout chest, with a lock on it, for household purposes; must be of such and such dimensions, six feet six in length especially, and that is an indispensable point—in fact, it will be longer than yourself, I think, Mr. Carpenter; what is the cost; when can it be ready?' At the appointed day he reappears; the chest is ready; we hope, an unexceptionable article? 'Too short, as I dreaded,' says the positive gentleman. 'Nay, your Honor,' says the carpenter, 'I am certain that it is six feet six,' and he takes out his foot-rule. 'Pshaw, it was to be longer than yourself.' 'Well it is.' 'No, it isn't.' The carpenter, to end the matter gets into the chest, and will convince any and all mortals. No sooner is he in, rightly flat, than the positive gentleman

a Prussian recruiting officer in disguise, slams down the lid upon him, locks it, whistles in three stout fellows, who pick up the chest, walk gravely through the streets with it, open it in a safe place and find—horrible to relate, the poor carpenter dead ; choked by want of air in this frightful middle passage of his.”—Carlyle, in his *Frederick the Great*.

II. “*Sans-Souci*,” the favorite retreat of Frederick the Great at Potsdam.—“For the last forty years of his life, especially as years advanced, he spent most of his days and nights in this little Mansion ; which became more and more his favorite retreat, whenever the noises and scenic etiquettes were not inexorable. ‘*Sans-Souci*,’ which we may translate ‘No-



SANS-SOUCI.

Bother.’ A busy place this, too, but of the quiet kind ; and more a home to him than any of the three fine Palaces (ultimately four) which lay always waiting for him in the neighborhood.

“Certainly it is a significant feature of Friedrich ; and discloses the inborn proclivity he had to retirement, to study and reflection, as the chosen element of human life, why he fell upon so ambitious a title for his Royal Cottage. The name, it appears, came by accident. He had prepared his tomb, and various tombs in the skirts of this new Cottage ; looking at these, as the building of them went on, he was heard to say, one day : ‘*Qui, alors je serai sans souci* (Once

there, one will be out of bother)!’ A saying which was rumored of, and repeated in society, being by such a man. Out of which rumor in society, and the evidence of the Cottage Royal, there was gradually born, as Venus from the froth of the sea, this name: Sans-Souci: which Friedrich adopted.” —Carlyle.

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§ 22. SWEDEN AND RUSSIA

At the close of the Thirty Years' War (1648) Sweden had come to occupy a place among the great powers of Europe. She had conquered the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic, thereby shutting out her rivals, Russia and Poland, from access to the "Swedish Lake." Finland was also hers. This great advance of Sweden had been accomplished through a fortunate combination of circumstances: an able leader, in the person of Gustavus Adolphus; a well-disciplined army, filled with religious enthusiasm. These, together with the exhaustion of the continental powers, gave Sweden her opportunity; but it was evident that her resources were too meagre to permit her to hold the place she had won.

Until the time of Peter the Great, Russia is not to be regarded as a European power. During the Middle Ages the Russian lands were for two centuries under the rule of the Mongols. Step by step the princes of Moscow absorbed the neighboring states; in the fifteenth century Ivan the Great threw off the Mongol yoke. In 1613 the house of Rurik became extinct, and the dynasty of the Romanoffs was founded. Russia was still cut off from communication with the West; Sweden kept her from the Baltic on the north; the

Height of the
Swedish power.

Rise of Russia.

Turks from the Black Sea on the south. The problem of Russia was to break through to the sea, and this was accomplished by Peter the Great.

Peter came to the throne at the age of seventeen. The empire to which he succeeded was of a medieval rather than of a modern character. The task of imposing his authority upon his turbulent nobles was a heroic one. He had no army; the imperial guard (the "Streltsi") had been accustomed to play the leading part in the revolutions of the palace. He had no fleet; no Russian Tsar before his time had seen the sea.

Peter the Great
(1689-1725)



PETER THE GREAT.

Peter made a voyage across Germany and Holland to England. There he studied the industries of the country, labored as a carpenter in the ship-yards of Holland, and on his return to Russia brought with him sailors and ship-builders, and began the construction of a fleet at Archangel, his only harbor, on the frozen coast of the White Sea. In 1703, while at war with Sweden, Peter laid in Swedish territory the foundations of his new capital, St. Petersburg, "a window to the west." Moscow, "the widow of the Tsar," mourned the change; but Peter wished Russia to leave her Oriental home; for his new work a new capital was necessary, at whose birth western influences had presided. Here it was easier for the Tsar to break with the old Muscovite traditions. He made his authority absolute over his nobles, the "boyards." He declared all land to be held from the Tsar; forced the nobles into his service, revoking the titles and lands of those who refused, making the imperial service the sole road to wealth and distinction. In this he was an apt pupil of the *Grand Monarche*; but

his methods were those of the East ; the “ knout ” often reminded his noble servants that Peter was master in Russia.

Having made himself master of Russia, Peter set about to destroy the Oriental customs which prevailed in Russian

Russian Society
under Peter the
Great.

society. In a few years he succeeded, with forceful measures, in giving to his court a superficial gloss of civilization. Long beards

and robes, after the Persian and Tartar style, were discouraged, and obstinate boyards were shaven by official barbers at the city gate. Struck with the elegance of the court of Versailles, which he visited in 1717, Peter sought to transform his Muscovite women into courtly dames, forbade the covering of their faces with veils, and compelled their attendance, under penalty of the knout, at the assemblies of the court.

The extension of Russian Power to the Baltic was not

Charles XII of
Sweden
(1697-1718).

achieved except against the resistance of Sweden.

In 1697 Charles XII came to the throne at the age of seventeen.

Ignorant of the military genius of this young prince, the rivals of Sweden—Russia, Poland, and Denmark—formed an alliance for the overthrow of the Swedish power. But Charles XII was not dismayed. Attacking his enemies one by one, he forced Denmark to terms of peace, defeated the Russian army, and, entering Poland, drove Augustus II from the throne. Here his judgment failed. Lingerin for several years in Saxony, Charles gave to Peter an opportunity of reorganizing his army. Then, instead of turning again to the North, he was induced by a Cossack chief-tain, Mazeppa, to undertake an expedition against Mos-



CHARLES XII.

cow. At Pultova he met again the army of Peter, and was defeated, lost his army, and fled, with a handful of companions, into Turkey. There he wasted time in seeking to induce the Sultan to renew the war against Russia. Meanwhile the situation in the north had changed ; Augustus had recovered the throne of Poland ; Prussia, England, and Holland had joined the combination against Sweden. Still Charles fought on, until he met his death at the age of thirty-eight, seeking the subjection of Norway. With his death the power of Sweden rapidly declined. Her Baltic provinces were lost to Brandenburg and Russia.

A weak state, lying between the rising powers of Russia and Prussia, Poland had little chance of preserving her nationality. The arrogance of her nobles and the faults of her constitution prevented her accomplishing the transition from a medieval to a modern state. Poland was a monarchy of twelve millions of people, ruled by a hundred thousand nobles, who lived from the labor of a degraded peasantry. There was no middle class, commerce being in the hands of the Jews, who possessed no political rights. The king was elected, and a figurehead ; a curious feature of the constitution was the *liberum veto*, which gave the power to any member of the Diet to annul legislation. This alone was sufficient to make government impossible ; and the nobles were too selfish and stupid to permit a change.

On account of the jealousy of the nobles, it was customary to elect a foreign prince as king. In 1697 the Elector of Saxony was chosen as Augustus II. Deposed by Charles XII of Sweden, he regained his throne, and was succeeded by his son, Augustus III. In 1763 Augustus III died, and Frederick the Great and Catharine of Russia pressed the claims of Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman. His election brought anarchy into Poland, as the great

enemies of Poland intended it should, and paved the way for intervention. But Austria could not be disregarded, and in the first partition of 1772 she had her share of the spoil. The share of Prussia was the smallest; but it was of great value, since it connected the Prussian lands with Brandenburg.

The succeeding partitions of Poland took place during the French Revolution. In 1793 Poniatowski sought to revise the Polish constitution and abolish the *liberum veto*. This aroused the fears of Catharine of Russia, lest Poland should become a virile state. She intervened, championing the interests of the conservative nobles against such a radical reform. The liberals appealed to Prussia; but Frederick William II, refusing his aid, threw an army into Poland, and shared with Catharine the spoliation of Polish territories. Russia's share again was greater; but Prussia got, among other bits, the cities of Danzig and Thurn. Austria was busy fighting France, and had no share.

The Polish patriot, Kosciuszko, refused to submit to the spoliation of his country, and raised the standard of national revolt; but his act was disavowed by Poniatowski, and Poland, divided against herself, could offer no front against her despoilers. A great Russian army entered Poland, and took the capital, Warsaw. Poniatowski was removed, and abdicated in November. Thus Poland for the third time fell defenceless into the hands of royal and imperial robbers. This time Austria was at hand, and received her portion, Galicia. Poland became extinct, easily crushed, at a time when France was holding her own against all Europe. The reason was that the people of Poland, kept down by arrogant nobles, were serfs, and had no appreciation of liberty, and no national pride.

Second partition,
1793.

Third partition,
1795.

SELECT READING

I. Peter the Great as a Social Reformer.—"Peter settled the question of dress in his usual radical fashion. He would have no more beards, and everybody must wear European costume, either French or Hungarian. His ukase on the subject was published on the 29th of August, 1699, and patterns of the regulation garments were exposed on the streets. The poorer classes were granted a temporary delay, so that they might wear out their old clothes, but after 1705 every soul was to appear in the new uniform, under pain of fines, and even of severer difficulties.

"The reform, thus violently imposed, met with desperate opposition, especially among the lower classes. The poor *Moujik*, forcibly deprived of the beard which had kept his cheeks warm in 40 degrees of cold, begged that it might be laid with him in his coffin, so that after his death he might appear decently in the presence of St. Nicholas.

"But all this was nothing to Peter. In 1704, at an inspection of officials of all classes, held as he was passing through Moscow, he caused Ivan Naoumof, who had failed to use his razors, to be flogged. In 1706, soldiers were posted at all the church doors in Astrakhan, with orders to fall upon recalcitrant worshippers, and pull out their beards by main force. The Tsar also took upon himself to shorten the women's garments, and any skirts which exceeded the regulation length were publicly torn up, without the slightest regard for decency. Peter had a special and a kind of personal hatred for beards. To him they typified all the ideas, traditions, and prejudices he was resolved to overcome." —Waliszewski : *Peter the Great*.

II. Mazeppa and the Cossacks of the Ukraine.—"The Cossacks had originally the privilege of electing a prince under the name of general ; but they were soon deprived of that right, and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow.

"The person who then filled that station was a Polish gentleman, named Mazeppa. He had been educated as a page to John Casimir, and had received some tincture of polite

learning in his court. An intimacy which he had in his youth with the lady of a Polish gentleman having been discovered, the husband caused him to be whipped with rods, to be bound stark naked upon a wild horse, and turned adrift in that condition. The horse, which was brought out of the Ukraine, returned to his own country, and carried Mazeppa with him, half dead with hunger and fatigue. Some of the country people gave him assistance, and he lived among them for a long time, signalizing himself in several excursions against the Tartars. The superiority of his knowledge gained him great respect among the Cossacks, and, his reputation greatly increasing, the Tsar found it necessary to make him prince of the Ukraine.

“Being one day at table with the Tsar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him the task of disciplining the Cossacks, and rendering them more docile and dependent. Mazeppa replied that the situation of the Ukraine and the genius of the nation were insuperable obstacles to such a scheme. The Tsar, who began to be overheated with wine and had not, when sober, always the command of his passions, called him a traitor and threatened to have him impaled.

“Mazeppa, on his return to the Ukraine, formed the design of a revolt, the execution of which was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, which soon afterward appeared on the frontiers. He resolved to make himself independent, and erect the Ukraine, with some other ruins of the Russian empire, into a powerful kingdom. Brave, enterprising, and indefatigable, he entered secretly into a league with the king of Sweden, to accelerate the ruin of the Tsar, and to convert it to his own advantage.”—Voltaire: *History of Charles XII.*

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§ 23. THE FRENCH PHILOSOPHERS

Nothing is better calculated to show the vast gulf that lay between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century,

between the age of Louis XIV and the age of Louis XV, than the respective attitudes of these monarchs toward liberty of thought and expression. In the reign of Louis XIV everything was made to conform closely to the ideas and desires of the king.

The spirit of inquiry.

In literature, as elsewhere, emphasis was laid upon elegance of form. It is no wonder, therefore, that verse was the approved method of literary expression, or that the age produced great stylists, like Racine and Corneille. Such writers, taking their themes from the times of Greece and Rome, did not affront the government with the discussion of vital questions.

The reign of Louis XV, on the contrary, was a time of indifference, so far as the government was concerned ; but in the field of thought and of literature it was a period of immense activity. Philosophy no longer confined itself to the abstruse problems of pure metaphysics, but became practical, dealing with the problems of the day. This is the distinctive feature of eighteenth century philosophy, due to the weakening of the principle of authority, both in Church and State. All things were open to analysis ; the worldly lives of the clergy, the skepticism of many of its members ; the abuse of despotism and the scandals of the court delivered religion as well as royalty to the discussions of the philosophers.

The inspiration for the French philosophical movement of the eighteenth century came from England. The events of the Revolution of 1688, depriving monarchy of its divine sanction, gave rise to a school of practical philosophers, who sought to explain and justify the new theories of civil government, which had found their expression in the Bill of Rights. John Locke (1632-1704) carried rational inquiry into the examination of many phases of human existence, and exercised great influence upon French thought. He may be called the " Father of Eighteenth Century Philosophy."

Montesquieu.

About the middle of the century Montesquieu (1689-1755), a French judge, pursuing his inquiries into the comparative excellence of the various forms of government, published his "*Spirit of the Laws*," in which he held the view that no form of government possessed any special sanction, but that the kind of government best suited to a country was that which was determined by the peculiar conditions of the country itself—geographical, racial, and otherwise. Some countries, especially in Asia, were better suited with a despotic government; others with a limited monarchy; others, again, with a republic. Similarly with religion: he undertook to show that while Christianity was undoubtedly a better form of religion for Europe, yet in Asia and Africa different conditions had produced Mohammedanism, a religion better suited, he thought, to its surroundings.

The effect of this work, of which twenty-two editions appeared during the century, may be imagined. The seventeenth century had proclaimed that one single way was possible in all departments of human life and effort. That way had received divine sanction: in government, the monarchy; in religion, the Church. No question of different surroundings was possible; there must be one law, one set of institutions for the whole world. The eighteenth century opened the whole subject to discussion, and later attempts to restore the reign of authority were feeble and unavailing, as we shall learn.

Voltaire lived four years in England, studied Locke and Newton, and imbibed a love for English institutions. This he expressed in his "*Letters on the English*," which,



VOLTAIRE.

although condemned by the French censors, was extensively read. But Voltaire was not a practical philosopher.

Voltaire
(1694-1778).

Aside from his activity as a writer of plays, his life was largely spent in an attack upon the Church, the "Infamous," as he termed it in his bitterness. A Deist himself—that is to say, a believer in a Supreme Power—he attacked with keen invective all forms of revealed religion, Protestant as well as Catholic. More than any other man he influenced the spirit of his time. Voltairian skepticism became the fashion, even in the clergy; no salon was complete without a "philosopher" of this type.

This is but a single phase of Voltaire's life, but the most important for the future. He was, apart from his destructive philosophy, the literary arbiter of his time. From his retreat at Fernay, on the borders of Switzerland, where he passed his later years, his influence reached throughout Europe. Frederick the Great, Catharine II of Russia, the kings and princes of Europe, were flattered to receive letters from Voltaire. His crusade against intolerance and superstition, although conceived with a violence which mars it for our taste, gave, nevertheless, to human thought a liberty which it had never known. Voltaire was, according to Cardinal de Bernis, "the great man of his century."

In strong contrast with Voltaire stands his great contemporary, Rousseau. Voltaire was an aristocrat by birth and taste; Rousseau was the son of a Genevan artisan, and had all his life the instincts of a vagabond. Yet it is doubtful if any man has so largely influenced modern society and in so many ways. His "*Emile*" sketched a new system of education, inculcating simplicity and common sense in the training of children; his novel of the "*Nouvelle Héloïse*," was one of the first efforts to portray in fiction the artistic possibilities of the life of the middle classes. Hitherto

Rousseau
(1670-1741).

fiction had dealt by preference with the splendor of courts.

The most important book of Rousseau, however, measured in its effect upon his century, was the "*Social Contract*." Here political society is described as the result of a contract freely made between the people and their king. For the better conduct of human affairs the people delegate to a ruler the functions of government. If the ruler fail in his duty the contract is broken, and the people regain their right to give to another the task of governing them. This, it will be observed, is a direct denial of the theory of the divine right of kings. Supreme power, instead of coming from above, comes from the people beneath; the king, far from being a vicar of God, holding the nation as a divine gift, becomes a mere agent of the people, chosen for the execution of a common task, and removable at the will of his master, the people. These ideas of Rousseau, appealing strongly to the masses, became the program of the radical party in the Revolution.



ROUSSEAU.

SOURCE REVIEW

How Physical Conditions Determine the Form of Government; from the *Spirit of the Laws*.—"In Asia they have always had great empires; in Europe these could never subsist. Asia has larger plains; it is cut up into much more extensive divisions by mountains and seas; and as it lies more to the south, its springs are more easily dried up; the mountains are less covered with snow; and the rivers, not being so large, form more contracted barriers.

"Power in Asia ought then to be always despotic; for if

their slavery were not severe they would soon make a division inconsistent with the nature of the country.

“In Europe the natural division forms many nations of a moderate extent, in which the ruling by laws is not incompatible with the maintenance of the state; on the contrary, it is so favorable to it that without this the state would fall into decay, and become the prey of its neighbors.

“It is this which has formed the genius for liberty that renders every part extremely difficult to be subdued and subjected to a foreign power, otherwise than by the laws and the advantage of commerce.

“On the contrary, there reigns in Asia a servile spirit, which they have never been able to shake off, and it is impossible to find in all the histories of that country a single passage that discovers a freedom of spirit; we shall never see anything there but the excess of slavery.”

REFERENCES

Gardiner: *The French Revolution*, pp. 13-17; Adams: *European History*, pp. 427-428; Morse-Stephens: *The Revolution and Europe*, pp. 8-10.

CHAPTER VIII

The French Revolution

§ 24. THE MEETING OF THE ESTATES GENERAL

The French Revolution is not to be regarded as the result of a sudden impulse, a volcanic outburst of popular exasperation. In its more important phases it is the result of a half century of deliberation. The reconstruction of French society which resulted from the Revolution had been worked out in detail by thoughtful men, before a step was taken toward the overthrow of the government of Louis XVI.

Causes of the
Revolution.

The immediate cause of the Revolution was the financial crisis. The extravagance of Louis XIV, the indifference of Louis XV, had exhausted the resources of the government. Debt piled upon debt, until credit was gone. The efforts of Louis XVI to reorganize the financial system with the aid of Turgot and Necker have been related. The court favorites, who followed Necker in the ministry, completed the ruin of the treasury; the nation was bankrupt. Driven to a last extremity, the king had recourse to an expedient which marked the absolute failure of the royal resources. For one hundred and seventy-five years, since the firm establishment of Bourbon rule, the Estates General had never been called in France. Its summons in 1789 was a confession that the system of Louis XIV had broken down.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the men who came together as delegates to the Estates General had in mind only the reorganization of the finances. The philosophical discussions of the times had given their

demands a wider scope. They came together to give France a constitution which should express the eighteenth century ideas of government and society.

The evils from which France was suffering at the end of the eighteenth century may be summed up in one word — privilege: the privilege of the king; the State of France in 1789. privileges of the nobles; the privileges of the clergy. These constitute the spirit of the *ancien régime*. At an earlier time these privileges were not without justification. When the clergy were burdened with the general superintendence of education and the care of the poor and suffering, as was the case in the Middle Ages: when the nobles were the bulwark of defence against the enemy, and guaranteed the safety of the peasant while he tilled the soil; then it was not unjust that these upper classes should have a part of the produce of the labor which they made possible through their guardianship and protection. And did not the king, so long as he was regarded as the representative of God on earth, possess the land and the people? And what he refrained from taking himself was in his benevolence left to others.

But the eighteenth century changed all this. The function of the clergy, if in some respects as great, was in material things less evident; and there were many, such as the Voltairians, who doubted altogether its efficiency. The nobles had no longer any place in the system. The protection which it was formerly their business to supply was now afforded by the state, through taxation. As for the king, the theory of his divine commission had been called into question by the political philosophy of which Montesquieu and Rousseau were representatives.

But if the king, the nobles, and the clergy had lost their special usefulness, they had preserved their privileges. The taxes of the realm went into the king's privy purse. From this fund he drew what he chose, being

responsible to no man. What he left went for the purposes of administration. This was the king's privilege. The clergy were free from taxes. To be sure, they gave, as a body, a sum of money to the king at intervals, called the *don gratuit*; but it was a small contribution compared with the value of their estates, which constituted one-fourth of France. The nobles were exempt from the chief direct tax, the *taille*, and were permitted to make their own assessments for the remainder. None but a noble could hold a commissioned office in the army. The chief privileges then of the clergy and nobility were a whole or partial exemption from taxes, and the possession of the great offices of honor and value. From the peasants on their estates the nobles not only exacted rent, but a host of ancient feudal dues, for which they rendered no equivalent, squandering at Versailles the money wrung from toil.

The royal edict for the convocation of the Estates General was sent to the provincial governors for publication, January 24, 1789. Elections were held in each judicial district between the 7th of February and the 5th of May. In each district the electors chose delegates to the Estates General, and at the same time, in accordance with ancient usage, drew up a statement of grievances, and suggestions for the removal of the same. These statements, or "*Cahiers*," as they were called, were to be taken by the deputies to the Estates General, and there condensed into three great "*Cahiers*," one for each of the three estates, the Clergy, the Nobles, and the Third Estate, which made up the Estates General. Many of these *Cahiers* are preserved, and from them we learn that the people of France had thought deeply over the proposed changes; that the clergy and nobles were convinced of the necessity of giving up their privileges, and that the plan of reform, which the Revolution brought about, had been already worked out, in its main features, by the people. The

king and his advisers looked to the Estates General for a solution of the financial difficulties of the crown; but the people instructed their deputies to sit at Versailles until France had been given a constitution in harmony with her needs and wishes.

The deputies of the three orders came together at Versailles on the 5th of May. They were addressed by the

Meeting of the
Estates General.

king and his minister and left to their own

devices. The vital question of the day was

whether they should sit as one chamber, or

as three. In accordance with the decree of convocation,

the delegates of the Third Estate were equal in number

to the combined delegates of the

Clergy and Nobility. Sitting in

one chamber, the Third Estate,

with what help it might get from

the liberals of the other orders,

might expect a majority for its

plans. Sitting as three chambers,

the Third Estate, in spite of its

larger representation, would be

always outvoted, two to one. Under

the leadership of Mirabeau

the Third Estate took the name

of the National Assembly, and

refused to recognize the separate

existence of the other orders. The king sought at first to

use force, and closed the hall in which the representatives

of the people held their sittings. Nothing daunted, they

adjourned to a neighboring tennis court, and took an oath

not to separate until they had given France a constitution.

In spite of the king's commands, the Third Estate persevered in this policy of obstruction, and after two months'

patient waiting, won; the king yielded; at his command

the Clergy and the Nobles joined the Third Estate, and

the National Assembly was organized into one chamber.



MIRABEAU.



OATH OF THE TENNIS COURT, JUNE 20, 1789

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Among the many pamphlets which flooded Paris on the eve of the meeting of the Estates General was one by the Abbé Siéyès, entitled "What is the Third Estate?" In his discussion he attempts to show that the privileged orders are worse than useless to the state, and that the Third Estate is really the sum and substance of the nation. This idea, it is evident, lies at the root of the policy of the Third Estate, in the early days of the meeting of the Estates General, when they declared themselves the National Assembly. Siéyès says: "Who then shall dare to say that the Third Estate has not within itself all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation? It is the strong and robust man who has one arm still shackled. If the privileged order should be abolished the nation would be nothing less, but something more. Therefore, what is the Third Estate? Everything, but an everything shackled and oppressed. What would it be without this privileged order? Everything, but an everything free and flourishing. Nothing can succeed without it; everything would be infinitely better without the others.

"The Third Estate embraces then all that which belongs to the nation, and all that which is not the Third Estate cannot be regarded as being of the nation. What is the Third Estate? It is the whole."

II. Extracts from a *Cahier*.—The Nobility of Blois demand as follows:

"That the Estates General about to assemble shall be permanent and shall not be dissolved until the constitution be established; but in case the labors connected with the establishment of the constitution be prolonged beyond the space of two years, the assembly shall be reorganized with new deputies freely and regularly elected."

[From this it will be seen that the people were looking forward to something more than the mere presentation of grievances. Again:]

"That a fundamental and constitutional law shall assure forever the periodical assembly of the Estates General at frequent intervals, in such a manner that they may assemble

and organize themselves at a fixed time and place, without the concurrence of any act emanating from the executive power.

“That the legislative power shall reside exclusively in the assembly of the nation, under the sanction of the king.

“That taxes may not be imposed without the consent of the nation.”

[A study of the *cahiers* will show that the great reforms of the Revolution were in the minds of the people, and had been thoroughly discussed and formulated before the meeting of the Estates General.]

REFERENCES

Gardiner : *The French Revolution*, pp. 33-42 ; Morse Stephens : *The Revolution and Europe*, pp. 49-59.

§ 25. THE GREAT REFORM OF 1791

The Estates General, converted by the act of the Third Estate into the National Assembly, began the work for which it was chosen : the political regeneration of France. The king and the court party, who had expected no such result from the meeting of the Estates General, were at first inclined to resist ; but a popular uprising in Paris, resulting in the destruction of the Bastille, a royal fortress and prison for state offenders, betrayed too well the temper of the nation.

The first work of the National Assembly was destructive. On the night of the 4th of August the Assembly voted to abolish all feudal rights. This legislation was not forced upon the privileged classes by the Third Estate ; two great nobles, the Duc d'Aiguillon and the Duc de Noailles were the first to renounce their feudal privileges. Members of the nobility and of the clergy hastened to follow this example. The night has been called the “St. Bartholomew of Feudalism.”

The National
Assembly.

The Assembly, however, in spite of the enthusiasm of the moment, went carefully to work. It divided feudal dues into two classes : 1. Honorific or personal dues, originally representing contributions exacted by the lord from his vassals in return for protection. 2. Dues representing rent, paid to the lord for his share in the common land, held jointly, according to medieval custom. The Assembly cut away the first class entirely. There was no longer any protection ; therefore

Feudal dues.

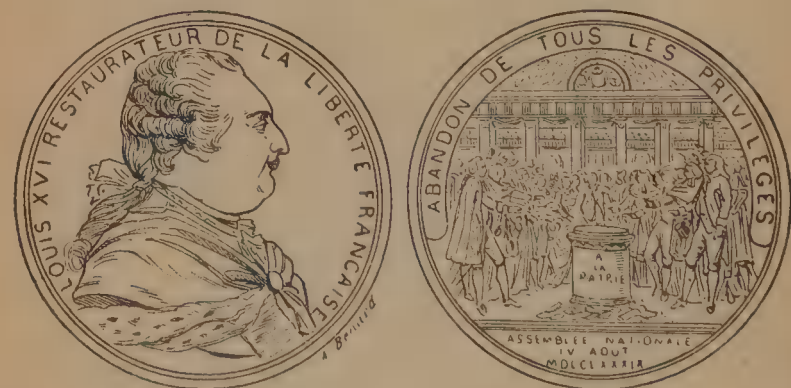


THE BASTILLE.

no reason for these dues. The second class, the rent dues, were retained provisionally, until some plan could be devised, whereby the peasants might gradually buy out the interest of the lord, and become actual owners of the land. In many parts of the country, however, the peasantry rose up against exacting landlords, burned their châteaux, and drove them out of the country.

To destroy the old system was an easier matter than to

build up the new. Nevertheless, the Assembly faced its task with courage, fortified with the extensive discussion of the subject in the *cahiers*, and in the numerous pamphlets which had appeared in the period just preceding the convening of the Estates General. On August 26th the Assembly published a "Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen," which, starting with the statement that "men are born and remain free and equal before the law," went on to secure to Frenchmen those privileges of liberty and free speech which are the foundations of modern political life, such as the right of *habeas corpus* and of trial by jury.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE FOURTH OF AUGUST.

The National Assembly, taking up the task of forming a constitution, is called the Constitutional Assembly. At this task it labored until its dissolution on the 30th of September, 1791, when it had completed and presented to its constituents the first written constitution of France. It was accepted by the king, and went into operation. This Constitution of 1791, as it was called, gave France a limited monarchy. Conscious of what the nation had suffered from the absolutism of former kings, the Assembly went to the other extreme, and reduced the royal power almost to nothing. Not alone was the king deprived of

the right of making laws, which his predecessors had done with a simple edict; but he was even deprived of the right of vetoing legislation, when it came from the national parliament, the Legislative Assembly, as it was to be called. If the Legislative Assembly passed a bill three times against the royal disapproval, the bill became law.

Nor was the king free in the disposition of his ministers. They might be impeached before a special High Court, and, if successfully impeached, removed. This sudden reduction of the royal power was, perhaps, unwise. Not only did it startle Europe into an attitude of defence against French radical ideas, but it humiliated the king and alienated his sympathies from the reform. Although he accepted the constitution, he did so from fear, secretly intending to renounce his adherence when the opportunity came. He began to plot against France with his friends and relatives over the border, and did it so clumsily that he made the monarchy hateful to the people, and brought its ruin along with his own.

The Assembly was not satisfied with the reorganization of the state; it also desired to reconstruct the church.

The clergy. The church excited the apprehension of many thoughtful men, on account of the exceptional position in which it stood toward the state. It was, to a certain extent, a rival power, directed from Rome and owing its allegiance to the pope. The Assembly desired to nationalize the church, to make it a department of the state, to sweep away the whole system of tithes by which the church was supported, and to reduce the officers of the church to the status of government officials. This it proceeded to do in the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," or law for the reorganization of the church. Clergymen were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. The property of the church was turned over to the nation, and the salaries of church officers fixed by schedule, and paid by the state. The enormous revenues

of the bishops were cut down, and the salaries of the parish priests, a mere pittance before 1789, were raised.

In return for this obligation of the state to pay the salaries of the clergy, the Assembly voted to turn into the public treasury the enormous vested wealth of the church, houses and lands, estimated at one-fourth (by some, one-third) of the real estate of France, and yielding an income of two hundred million of francs. Recognizing the impossibility of selling outright so vast a body of real estate at anything like its value, and being in need of money, the Assembly conceived the idea of issu-



AN ASSIGNAT.

ing a paper currency, called *assignats*, supposed to represent the land itself, and eventually to be turned in for the purchase of the property at a fixed price. The scheme seemed safe, and would have been, if the issue of *assignats* had been limited to the value of the church property; but as the Revolution

progressed the increasing need of money for public purposes, and the fatal ease with which it could be taken from the printing-press, resulted in an overissue, which carried the value of the *assignats* nearly to zero. The lands themselves were largely bought by speculators, but eventually they were cut up, and came into the hands of the people, adding to the number of small peasant proprietors, who constitute the bone and sinew of the French nation.

SELECT READING

I. The Fourth of August; "Abolition of Feudalism."—

"A terrible report it was. Châteaux burning here and there; millers hung; tax-gatherers drowned; everywhere rioting and nowhere peace. Among those who listened to the report was the Vicomte de Noailles, a young man of thirty-three, who had distinguished himself at the head of his regiment under his cousin, Lafayette, in America. The Vicomte de Noailles was the first to rush to the tribune. 'What is the cause of the evil which is agitating the provinces?' he cried; and then he showed that it arose from the uncertainty under which they dwelt, as to whether or not the old feudal bonds under which they had so long lived and labored were to be perpetuated or abolished, and concluded an impassioned speech by proposing to abolish them at once. One after another the young liberal noblemen, and then certain deputies of the Third Estate, followed him with fresh sacrifices. First the old feudal rights were abolished; then the rights of the dovecote and the game laws; then the old copyhold services; then the tithes paid to the Church, in spite of a protest from Sieyès; then the rights of certain cities over their immediate suburbs and rural districts were sacrificed; and the contention during that feverish night was rather to remember something or other to sacrifice than to suggest the expediency of maintaining anything that was established. In its generosity the Assembly gave away what did not belong to it. The old dues paid to the pope were abolished, and it was even declared that Avignon, which had belonged to the pope since the Middle Ages, should be united to France, if it liked; and the sitting closed with a unanimous decree that a statue should be erected to Louis XVI, 'the restorer of French liberty.'"—Morse-Stephens: *History of the French Revolution*.

II. The *Emigrés*.—It was the misfortune of France that the natural leaders, the men of political and social prominence, whose interests and instincts would have served to moderate the course of revolution, deserted their posts, and betook themselves to the German and Italian frontiers, awaiting the intervention of Europe. Meanwhile France was left in the

hands of a set of new men, inexperienced in public affairs and often without any personal stake in the great political game which they sought to direct. Chancellor Pasquier, in his *Memoirs*, thus writes of the Emigration : "It has often-times been asked how so extraordinary a resolution came to be taken ; how it had entered into the minds of men gifted with a certain amount of sense that there was any advantage to be derived from abandoning all posts where they could still exercise power ; of giving over to the enemy the regiments they commanded, the localities over which they had control ; of delivering up completely to the teachings of the opposite party the peasantry, over whom, in a goodly number of provinces, a valuable influence might be exerted, and among whom they still had many friends ; and all this, to return for the purpose of conquering, at the sword's point, positions, a number of which at least could be held without a fight."

REFERENCES

Morse-Stephens: *The Revolution and Europe*, pp. 60-123 ;
Gardiner: *The French Revolution*, pp. 49-86.

§ 26. THE JACOBIN REVOLUTION

If the Revolution had ceased with the great reforms of 1791, history would have been spared one of its most tragic episodes. Why it did not stop is a question of much difficulty, which cannot be answered with a word. In all revolutions—political, social, and religious—there is a tendency toward extravagance : begun by radicals, the movement passes into the hands of fanatics. It has been noted in the case of Martin Luther that his reform owed its success largely to the ability of its leader to keep it from degenerating into extravagance and anarchy.

The French revolution was the end of a long period of social oppression. The distinction between nobles and bourgeois, and between bourgeois and proletariat arrayed the classes in hatred against one another. The reforms

of 1791 were a triumph for the bourgeoisie, for it had reduced the distinctions between that class and the nobility; and it was felt by the extreme social reformers that the work of leveling ought to go on, until all distinctions of wealth and social degree had been removed between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. A reign of "liberty, equality, fraternity," in the literal sense of the words, was their demand.

Under more favorable circumstances the bourgeoisie



TRIAL OF THE DEPOSED KING, CHARGED WITH TREASON.

would have held their own and prevented the Revolution from passing into the hands of the social theorists; but unfortunately, the very foundation of the structure of 1791 was unsound. The king himself was out of sympathy with the government. Putting himself into correspondence with his friends outside of France, he conspired to overthrow the constitutional monarchy with the aid of foreign bayonets. The treachery of the king, when it became known, broke down the monarchy, gave strength to the demands of the masses, and eventually brought about the execution

of King Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette. Without a king the monarchy could exist no longer; the Constitution of 1791 was no longer valid. The conservative institutions of the Estates General had failed through the defection of the king, and a Constitutional Convention was called to devise a new form of government for France.

The Convention, called for the purpose of giving France a new constitution, actually governed the country for three years. The monarchists, who had guided the Revolution at its start, lost control, and the power passed into the hands of a group of ambitious lawyers, Rousseauans and social reformers, whose strength consisted largely in the fact that they were leaders of the Jacobin Club. This club, organized as a place of social gathering for the provincial deputies, took its name from its place of meeting—the abandoned monastery of the Jacobin monks. It became the most powerful organization in France, with affiliated branches all through the provinces. At its daily meeting the policy of the government was made the subject of debate, until the club had determined its lines of action; and then its members, who were for the most part members of the Convention, went to the sessions of that body, prepared to act as a unit in the support of the Jacobin policy. Even when numerically in the minority, their unity and formulated plan of action gave the Jacobins control of the Convention; and with their affiliated clubs they were able to control the elections in the provinces.

Under Jacobin pressure the Convention evolved one of the most absolute and forceful governments that Europe has ever seen. A committee was appointed, the “Committee of Public Safety,” and into the hands of this committee the Convention confided its administrative powers. France, decentralized by the Constitution of 1791, became again centralized as never before, under the absolute rule of this committee.

The Convention
1792-1795.

The Reign of
Terror.

At its head were Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just. Eight other members divided among them the various departments of government: the army, the navy, finance, and the like. All measures were reported to the Convention, and received its sanction.

The chief business of the government of the "Terror" was to defend France against her enemies. The states of Europe, terrified at the execution of Louis XVI, and fearing the extension of republican ideas into their own territories, took up arms against France. In addition to this, parts of the west and south of France, faithful to the king and church, rose in rebellion, so that the Convention had domestic as well as foreign foes to fight. But the spirit of France in this hour of danger was wonderful. The country, which under Bourbon rule seemed bankrupt, was able, in a time of national inspiration, to find men and supplies for such a war as Europe had never witnessed. The task was enormous; the armies had to be organized and equipped under fire; but in spite of all these difficulties the French republican troops defeated the united armies of Europe, and not only drove the invaders out of France, but carried the war into the enemies' country and moved the boundaries of France to the Rhine.



ROBESPIERRE.

While her armies were defending France on the border it was necessary to keep down the disaffected ones at home. This was accomplished by the system of "Terror." All persons of aristocratic birth, or who were otherwise open to suspicion, when not provided with "cards of civism," issued by the courts, and establishing for the bearer a

character of patriotism, were "suspects." They might at any time be arrested and carried before the "Revolutionary Tribunals," courts especially created for the trial of suspected persons. Indeed, there were committees, called "Revolutionary Committees," composed of approved patriots, whose business it was to watch suspects, and report their shortcomings. To be brought before a "Revolutionary Tribunal" in those times of mutual distrust and danger, was serious, indeed. The usual forms of trial were suspended; the jury had a right to declare itself satisfied and reject further evidence. Human life was cheap, and the guillotine near at hand. So complete was the system of Terror that, when the wagons passed through the street with their freight of human victims bound for the guillotine, passers-by and the people at the windows were afraid to raise their eyes, lest an involuntary expression of pity might be detected by the lynx-eyed partisans of the Convention.

The method by which the Convention got its supplies was in harmony with the arbitrary character of its rule. All food-supplies and other military necessities were requisitioned and paid for in assignats. The assignats were produced at the cost of ink and paper, and their circulation at par was enforced under penalty of death. All persons were required to turn in their gold and silver to the government and receive assignats in exchange. In order to prevent commodities rising to high prices in exchange for assignats the "Law of the Maximum" was enacted, whereby a maximum price was fixed for articles of prime necessity. Such goods might not be sold for more than this price, under penalty of death. To prevent the withdrawal of goods from sale, it was further enacted that every merchant or warehouseman must post an inventory of all articles held by him; and all stock not so posted was subject to confiscation, one half its value going to the informer. By such measures as these all the re-

System of the
"Terror."

sources of France were put into the hands of the government of the Terror, and used in the defeat of Europe and the subjection of domestic rebels.

Thus a handful of men governed France with methods of terror, while the nation obeyed in fear and trembling.

The only place of safety for one who had the misfortune to be of aristocratic birth, and was too patriotic to desert his country in her need, was with the army at the front. But France endured the Terror, because it was accomplishing that which was of more importance than all the rest—it was rescuing the country from the danger of foreign and domestic enemies. Before we condemn utterly Robespierre and the men of the Terror, let us remember their position. The times were not ordinary times, and called for desperate measures. Some system of repression was necessary to keep down the enemies of the Republic, who were everywhere, both in and out of France, ready to deliver France to the English or the Austrians. It was necessary for the Committee to hold them down with one hand, while with the other it fought the armies of Europe.

As soon as the danger passed, and the threat of invasion was gone, the Terror fell, and the men who had organized it, Robespierre and the rest, went to the block. Patriots or fiends, deserving well or ill of their country, they fell victims to their own ruthless system. Of the Committee of Public Safety one alone was saved from death or exile: Carnot, who had the army in his charge, for he “had organized victory.”

SELECT READING

Execution of the King.—On the 10th of August, 1792, King Louis XVI, who had become hateful to the people on account of his intrigues with the enemies of France, was driven from his residence of the Tuileries by a mob, and con-

ducted for safe-keeping to one of the city prisons. Papers found in the king's apartments established beyond doubt the fact of his guilt. He was deposed, accused of treason, and tried before the Legislature. Being found guilty, he was condemned to death, and decapitated January 21, 1793. The Queen, Marie Antoinette, was executed on the 16th of October following; the young Dauphin, only son of the royal pair, was given over to the care of a shoemaker, Simon, and succumbed, it is supposed, to brutal treatment. The following is Carlyle's account of the execution: "He mounts the scaffold, not without delay; he is in a puce coat, breeches of gray, white stockings. He strips off the coat; stands disclosed in a sleeve-waistcoat of white flannel. The executioners approach to bind him: he spurns, resists; Abbé Edgeworth has to remind him how the Saviour, in whom men trust, submitted to be bound. His hands are tied, his head bare; the fatal moment is come. He advances to the edge of the Scaffold, 'his face very red,' and says: 'Frenchmen, I die innocent: it is from the Scaffold and near appearing before God that I tell you so. I pardon my enemies; I desire that France'—A general on horseback, Santerre or another, prances up with uplifted hand: 'Tambours!' The drums drown the voice. 'Executioners, do your duty!' The executioners seize the hapless Louis, and bind him to their plank. Abbé Edgeworth, stooping, bespeaks him: 'Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven.' The Axe clanks down; a King's Life is shorn away."—*The French Revolution*.

CHAPTER IX

Napoleon Bonaparte

§ 27. BONAPARTE, GENERAL OF THE DIRECTORY

THE fall of the Terror was followed by the government of the Directory. The Convention, freed from the influence of the Jacobins, set itself to perform the task for which it had been chosen, the making of a constitution. Its final work was the Constitution of 1795. This provided for a legislature of two chambers, the "Ancients" and the "Five Hundred." The executive power was confided to a "Directory" of five members, elected by the legislature, and having in turn the right of appointing ministers, generals, and other officers of administration.

The last days of the Convention were filled with struggle. The fall of the Jacobins brought back a host of moderates and royalists, who sought by violence to obtain control of the government. It was in the suppression of one of these insurrections, the royalist uprising of the 13th Vendémiaire, that public attention was first called to Napoleon Bonaparte. Barras, to whom the defence of the Convention was entrusted, summoned to his assistance this young general, then in Paris protesting against his recall from the army of Italy on account of his supposed Jacobin sympathies. This was Bonaparte's opportunity, and he improved it. The rioters advanced upon the palace of the Tuileries, the seat of the Convention, expecting a feeble resistance; but Bonaparte placed his cannon to control the streets leading up to the Tuileries, and cut down the

The 13th
Vendémiaire.

rioters and national guardsmen as they advanced. By these means he saved the Convention, and commended himself to the Directory, about to assume the reins of government.

The military successes of the Convention had driven to terms of peace all the enemies of France, except Austria and England. Against these powers the Directory was obliged to carry on the war, and Austria was selected for the first attack.

The Army
of Italy.

The plan of the campaign of 1796 against Austria divided the French forces into three armies, two operating against the Rhenish borders of Austria, the third to strike at her



JOSEPHINE.

possessions and allies in Italy. The Army of Italy was placed under command of Bonaparte. This rapid promotion was due to Barras, who had been chosen one of the first five directors; to the reputation young Bonaparte had gained from the affair of Vendémiaire; and also, it is said, to a masterly plan of the Italian campaign, which Bonaparte had submitted to the Minister of War. On the eve of his departure for It-

aly, Bonaparte married Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, widow of General Beauharnais, a clever creole woman of West Indian origin, who moved in the influential circles of the Directory, and was in a position to aid her husband through her influence with politicians.

When Bonaparte arrived at the headquarters of the Army of Italy, his youth (he was only twenty-seven) and his inexperience aroused the jealousy of his fellow-officers, many of whom were soldiers of experience in the armies of the Revolution. By the firmness of his character, and by the evident wisdom of his commands, he succeeded in



BONAPARTE IN EGYPT.

establishing his authority. The common soldiers he gained by his care for their welfare, and by the stirring promise of his proclamations.

Advancing into Italy, Bonaparte defeated the Austrians and their Italian allies at every point. The petty sovereigns of Italy, and the pope as well, cut off from Austrian protection, were glad to purchase peace at Bonaparte's price; and this was put so high, that the commander of the Army of Italy was able to pay the expenses of his campaign, and sent home to the Directory a neat balance out of the plunder of Italian treasuries.

Three armies sent by Austria into the plains of Lombardy were defeated in turn by Bonaparte, and in the spring of 1796 he began his march northward against Vienna. The Austrians, fearing for their capital, sued for peace, and it was accorded to them in the treaty of Campo-Formio. By this treaty the Emperor, Francis I, recognized the natural boundaries of France as the Alps and the Rhine. Its most important feature, however, was the constitution of Italy: Lombardy and the Duchy of Modena, together with some parts of the Papal States, were formed into the Cisalpine Republic, with a constitution modeled after that of France. This was the beginning of that breaking down of the feudal states of Italy by Napoleon Bonaparte, which paved the way for the eventual creation of the modern Kingdom of Italy. On the other hand, liberty lost one of its earliest strongholds. Venice, a republic from medieval times, lost its independence, and was given to Austria in exchange for Lombardy.

Bonaparte, returning to Paris from his Italian victories, was the man of the hour. His immense popularity excited the apprehension of the Directors, and well it might, as future events proved. But Bonaparte's hour had not yet arrived. He applied himself to the preparation of an expedition, ostensibly against England, the remaining enemy

The Italian
Campaign.

of France ; but when the expedition sailed from Toulon its destination was found to be Egypt. The Directory was only too glad, no doubt, to send him on a distant and doubtful expedition. The reason for the Egyptian expedition is a matter of doubt. Was Bonaparte willing that France should learn, by his absence, how necessary he was to her existence ? Was it his plan to strike at England through her Eastern possession, or did he really seek to establish an Eastern empire on the ruins of the empire of Alexander, and hope to turn back upon Europe from the East, as he once said, at the head of an insuperable army of Asiatics, drilled by him to a point of efficiency?

The Toulon squadron escaped the English fleet, which was cruising in the Mediterranean, and reached Alexandria. The conquest of Egypt was rapidly accomplished. Beneath the Pyramids Bonaparte defeated the Mameluke cavalry and occupied Cairo. Meanwhile Nelson, with the English fleet, had found and destroyed the French squadron, in the "Battle of the Nile," and the retreat from Egypt was cut off.

Bonaparte organized a government at Cairo and sought to rouse a national spirit among the Egyptians, who for generations had been subject to the Turks and their Mameluke soldiery. Hearing that a Turkish army was advancing against him by land, Bonaparte crossed into Syria, and met and defeated the Turkish forces at Mount Tabor. Returning to Egypt, he found his government disorganized, and learned that another Turkish army had been landed by the British fleet at the mouth of the Nile. Again he defeated the Mamelukes at Cairo, and, marching down the Nile, drove the Turkish army into the sea ; but at this moment he received the first news that had come to him from Europe. He determined to return at once to France, and embarked with a few friends, leaving Kléber in command in Egypt.

The Egyptian expedition.

Expedition into Syria.

Bonaparte's ship escaped the English fleet, and he landed on the coast of France, October 9, 1799.

Meanwhile matters had gone ill with the Directory. Russia had joined with Austria, war had been renewed, and all that Bonaparte had gained for France was lost. The French were driven from Italy, and the treaty of Campo-Formio was a dead

The 18th
Brumaire.

letter. When Bonaparte reached Paris men of all parties sought his aid. But he held himself aloof, and with his friends planned the event which was to raise him to the height of power. The four years of the Directory, with its plots and counter-plots, its scandals and financial difficulties, had discredited its rule. The absence of Bonaparte had proved his worth to France. Surrounded by enemies, she once more sought a strong hand at the helm.



MEDAL OF THE THREE CONSULS.

On the 18th Brumaire, Year VIII, the two chambers of the legislature were removed to St. Cloud, under the pretext that their sojourn in Paris was accompanied with danger; and they were then surrounded by troops devoted to Bonaparte. Of the Directors, two were unwilling to yield, and they were guarded in their palace of the Luxemburg. On the morning of the 19th Brumaire, Bonaparte entered the chambers, escorted by soldiers. The Ancients yielded quietly, but the popular body, the Five Hundred, was less docile, and resisting deputies were expelled with force. That evening thirty deputies organized a government, and supplanted the Directory with a provisional executive, consisting of three Consuls. A committee was appointed to draw up a new constitution. This was the

Constitution of the Year VIII, organizing the Consulate. The executive consisted of three Consuls ; of these Bonaparte was First Consul, with the powers of a king.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. The Revolutionary Calendar.—In 1793 the Revolutionists, desiring to efface all memories of the olden time, adopted a new calendar. It was dated back to September 22, 1792, when the Republican Era began, with the proclamation of the Republic. There were twelve months of thirty days each, each month divided into three decades of ten days each, with every tenth day a holiday. This left five days over (and on leap-year six). These were special holidays (*"Sans-Culottides"*). The new names of the months were invented by a poet of the time and are very beautiful and expressive. They are : *Vendémiaire* (September 22d–October 22d), *Brumaire*, *Frimaire* ; *Nivôse*, *Pluviôse*, *Ventôse* ; *Germinal*, *Floréal*, *Prairial* ; *Messidor*, *Thermidor*, *Fructidor*. The years were indicated with Roman numerals ; and this usage continued until the Empire. (For "Table of Concordance of the Republican and Gregorian Calendars," see Morse Stephens: *The Revolution and Europe*, p. 374.)

II. Address to the Army of Italy, at the beginning of the Campaign of 1796.—"Soldiers, you are naked and ill-fed ! Government owes you much and can give you nothing. The patience and courage you have shown in the midst of these rocks are admirable, but they gain you no renown ; no glory results to you from your endurance. It is my design to lead you into the most fertile plains of the world. Rich provinces and great cities will be in your power ; there you will find honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy ! will you be wanting in courage or perseverance ? "

III. Picture of Napoleon in Italy, after the successes of his first campaign, as seen by Miot de Melito.—"I found myself in his presence a few moments after he had alighted. I was strangely surprised at his appearance. Nothing could be further from the picture which I had formed of him. I saw, in the midst of a numerous staff, a man below the medium height

and extremely thin. His powdered hair, which was cut in a peculiar, square fashion below the ears, fell down to his shoulders. He had on a straight coat, closely buttoned up, decorated with a very narrow gold embroidery, and wore a tri-colored plume in his hat. At first glance the face did not seem to me a fine one, but the striking features, a quick and searching eye, and abrupt, animated gestures proclaimed an ardent soul, while the broad, serious forehead showed a deep thinker.

“I found Bonaparte at the magnificent residence of Montebello in the midst of a brilliant court rather than the headquarters of an army. Severe etiquette was already maintained in his presence. His aides-de-camp and officers were no longer received at his table, and he exercised great care in the choice of those whom he did admit, it being considered a rare honor, obtained only with difficulty. He dined, so to speak, in public, and during the meal the inhabitants of the country were admitted to the dining-room and allowed to feast their eyes upon him. He showed himself, however, in no way embarrassed or confused by this exhibition of esteem, and received them as if he had always been accustomed to such tributes.”

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§ 28. CONSULATE AND EMPIRE

Bonaparte's first task, on assuming chief power in the Republic, was to chastise Austria. This he accomplished in the campaign of Marengo. Again he defeated the Austrian armies in northern Italy, and forced the Emperor to the treaty of Lunéville, by which the conditions of Campo-Formio were re-established. A period of peace followed. Even England signed with her great adversary the Peace of Amiens, which lasted for fourteen months, an interval of peace in what has been

The Consulate.

called the "Second Hundred Years' War between France and England."

This year and more of peace was the only time of rest



NAPOLEON, EMPEROR.

France was to know under Napoleon Bonaparte. She quickly recovered from the wounds of war, and made rapid strides along the path of internal development, under the

direction of the greatest administrator Europe had ever known. Many ideas of the early Revolution were realized by Bonaparte. A system of laws, adapted to modern needs, the Code Napoléon, was drawn up under his supervision ; the finances of the country were regulated ; a system of public education, projected by the Convention, was perfected and put into operation ; the recognition of the pope was much appreciated by the people at large, who were still Catholic, in spite of the extravagances of the Jacobins. The Consulate was a confirmation of the conservative reforms, begun by the men of 1789. In 1802 Bonaparte was given the Consulate for life. The popular vote (plebiscite) upon the change stood 3,500,000 to 8,000.

In May, 1804, the Senate, which merely reflected the wishes of the Consul, offered him the title of Emperor.

Emperor, 1804. This time a majority of three and one-half millions confirmed the offer. On the second of December Napoleon crowned himself in the presence of the pope. Five days later Francis II proclaimed himself Emperor of Austria, and two years later the Holy Roman Empire was at an end (Aug. 6, 1806).

Once an emperor, Napoleon surrounded himself with all the pomp of empire. He created a court with stately ceremonials and ancient customs, and gave to Paris the spectacle of royalty, the absence of which it had long regretted. Yet with all this splendor, which recalls the times of the Bourbons, it must be remembered that the empire of Napoleon was democratic. If his imperial will was made law by a subservient legislature, there was nevertheless a free field for ability. Any man, no matter what his birth, could hope to win the great prizes of the civil and of the military career. Three generations of nobility were no longer necessary to obtain a captain's commission ; there were no privileges of rank ; all was open to ability, and in this essential particular the aspirations of the men of 1789 were realized.

When Napoleon ascended the throne war with England was at hand. A great army was assembled at Boulogne, on the Channel, ready for the invasion of England. The combined French and Spanish fleets sought to draw away the English squadron from the Channel, to permit the transportation of the French army to the coast of England. But Nelson destroyed Napoleon's ships at Trafalgar, and the project of the invasion of England, if ever seriously entertained, was abandoned.

Wars of
conquest.

Meanwhile Austria and Russia had joined with England. Napoleon swung his great Boulogne armament into central Austria, and with the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz forced the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805), with great loss to Austria. Prussia, whose policy had been vacillating, was forced out of her position of neutrality by the war party, and defeated in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt. Berlin was occupied, and Napoleon advanced against his third great continental adversary, Russia, whom he forced, by the victory of Friedland, to the Peace of Tilsit (July 7, 1807). Thus in twenty months Napoleon had, by the rapidity of his movements and the excellence of his organization, defeated the great powers of central Europe. His ability as a strategist was great; but his successes were earned with hard work. His campaigns were planned ahead with infinite pains. In the great transcontinental swing from Boulogne to central Austria every move was worked out beforehand; every combination came to pass as planned. Napoleon's title to genius lay in his ability for continuous mental effort. All day and night he worked without rest, while his secretaries fainted at his side from exhaustion.

Although Napoleon had the Continent at his feet, he had no means at hand to coerce England. English fleets swept the Channel, and invasion was impossible. But on her commercial side England was vulnerable. She had become a vast workshop, and the Continent was her market.



Once this trade was cut off, and the looms and forges of England silenced, England would be ruined. For this purpose the "Continental System" was devised ; its aim was to close the markets of Europe to English goods. In order to accomplish this it was necessary for Napoleon to control the vast extent of sea-coast from the Baltic to the Adriatic, a herculean task, too great, perhaps, even for the ablest man in Europe. Everything in Napoleon's career, after the Peace of Tilsit, bears upon this problem. England recognized that for her it was a life or death struggle. She spent her money freely in support of Austrian and Prussian armies. She sent an army under Wellington into Spain, to co-operate with the Spaniards, who opposed the introduction of the Napoleonic system into Spain.

Napoleon aimed wider than the mere subjection of England. He sought the consolidation of Europe under his control, a system of vassal and allied states centered about France, drawing their inspiration from his policy. He even contemplated a group of palaces on the Seine, where each subject prince should spend a portion of his time, in touch with the source of power. It was for this reason that he placed his brothers and marshals upon conquered thrones : Louis in Holland, Joseph first in Naples (succeeded there by Murat), then in Spain ; and for Jerome he cut out the new kingdom of Westphalia from the petty German states across the Rhine. His stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, he placed as Viceroy on the throne of Italy, a kingdom created from the nucleus of the Cisalpine Republic.

It was a noble plan, this European empire. It meant the transmission of French intelligence and energy into the dark corners of Europe ; it meant the gift to Europe of the benefits of the French Revolution. Everywhere the Napoleonic impulse touched, Europe was galvanized into life. In Italy, in Germany, it was the beginning of

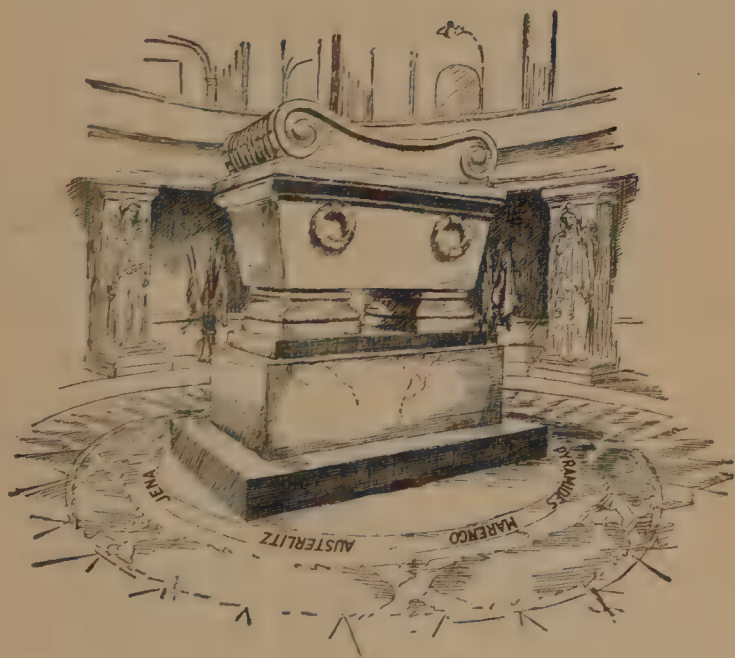
the new time. Spain and Portugal, where the English influence predominated and locked the Pyrenees against the beneficent influences of France, alone failed to catch the spirit of progress.

It was the policy of England to prevent a consolidation of the continental powers. So long as they were occupied with jealousies and wars they left the field of
Fall of Napoleon. industry and commerce to England. If by union Napoleon should give peace and a high industrial development to the Continent, the supremacy of England would be gone. More or less clearly England perceived this, and that her safety lay in the destruction of Napoleon; and to this end she strained every effort. She was aided by the natural aversion of the larger states to be swallowed up in the Napoleonic system. Russia was the first to break away and open the Baltic ports to English goods. Napoleon protested, and when his protest remained unheeded, marshaled his hosts to strike at Russia and close the gap in the system of exclusion.

Six hundred thousand men of all nations moved eastward; 315,000 crossed the River Niemen for the March to
The Expedition to Moscow, 1812. Moscow, the traditionary and religious center of Russia. Moscow was reached without difficulty, but was burned by the Russians before the eyes of Napoleon as he arrived. Winter approached, and retreat was inevitable. Napoleon had relied upon the possession of Moscow, to dictate terms of peace; but Moscow was in his hands, in ashes, and Russia had no vulnerable spot to strike. The retreat was terrible, with hunger, cold, and the pursuit by the enemy. Of the 155,000 Frenchmen who entered Russia, not more than 25,000 recrossed the Niemen.

The blow was fatal to the Empire. As Napoleon turned westward central Europe rose behind him. In 1813 he lost the battle of Leipzig; in 1814 the Allies invaded France. Napoleon's military skill was as great as ever, but his

troops were gone. Step by step he was beaten back, until in March Paris capitulated, and, abandoned by his generals, the Emperor abdicated on the sixth of April (1814), and was sent into exile on the island of Elba.



NAPOLEON'S TOMB, HÔTEL DES INVALIDES, PARIS.

face when in repose a melancholy and meditative expression. When he is excited with anger his looks are fierce and menacing. Laughter becomes him; it makes him look more youthful and less formidable. It is difficult not to like him when he laughs, his countenance improves so much. He was always simple in his dress, and generally wore the uniform of his own guard. He was cleanly rather from habit than from a liking for cleanliness; he bathed often, sometimes in the middle of the night, because he thought the practice good for his health. But, apart from this, the precipitation with which he did everything did not admit of his clothes being put on carefully; and on gala days and full dress occasions his servants were obliged to consult together as to when they might snatch a moment to dress him."

III. Habits of Work.—Meneval, private secretary of Napoleon, gives the following account of the Emperor's methods: "His activity grew in proportion to the obstacles put in his way, and he sorely taxed my strength, which was by no means equal to my zeal. To give an idea of his prodigious activity, it is necessary to acquaint the reader with the new order of things which Napoleon had established in the dispatch of his numerous affairs. The Emperor used to have me waked in the night. When, by chance, he had got to the study before me, I used to find him walking up and down with his hands behind his back, or helping himself from his snuff-box. His ideas developed as he dictated, with an abundance and a clearness which showed that his intention was firmly riveted to the subject with which he was dealing; they sprang from his head even as Minerva sprang, fully armed, from the head of Jupiter. When the work was finished, and sometimes in the midst of it, he would send for sherbet and ices. Thereupon he would return to bed, if only to sleep an hour, and could resume his slumber as though it had never been interrupted.

"Napoleon used to explain the clearness of his mind and his faculty of being able to prolong his work to extreme limits, by saying that the various subjects were arranged in his head as though in a cupboard. 'When I want to interrupt one piece of work,' he used to say, 'I close the drawer in which it is, and I open another. The two pieces of busi-

ness never get mixed up together, and never trouble or tire me. When I want to go to sleep I close up all the drawers, and then I am ready to go off to sleep."

IV. Financial Improvement of the Peasantry in the Time of Napoleon.—"Before 1789, out of a hundred francs of net revenue, the peasant gave fourteen to his lord, fourteen to the clergy, fifty-three to the state, and kept only eighteen or nineteen for himself. Since 1800, from a hundred francs income, he pays nothing to the lord or to the church, and he pays to the state, the department, and the commune but twenty-one francs, leaving seventy-nine in his pocket."—Taine.

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CHAPTER X

The Restoration

§ 29. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

THE fall of Napoleon placed the destinies of Europe in the hands of the Allies. Russia, Prussia, Austria, and

England assembled to "divide among themselves the spoils of the vanquished." The immediate task was to provide a government for France. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, France was reduced to her old boundaries of 1792. The Allies

affected to believe that they were welcome in France as deliverers of the land from the grasp of Napoleon. They insisted that Napoleon should renounce for himself and his descendants the thrones of France and Italy; and the Bourbon claimant, the elder of the two brothers of Louis XVI, was seated on the throne as Louis XVIII. But the new king came to the throne as a constitutional monarch, thanks to the liberal spirit of the

Tsar Alexander, who insisted that France be permitted to retain her "institutions, at once strong and liberal, with which she cannot dispense in the advanced stage of civilization to which she has attained." Louis XVIII gave to the French a constitution, the "Charter of 1814." It differed from the earlier constitutions of France in the fact that, instead of being the work of the people, it was the

Louis XVIII and the Charter.



LOUIS XVIII.

gift of a king. Thus the returning Bourbons clung, even in a modified form, to the principle of divine right. The Charter, in the form of government which it provided, introduced into France, with some limitations, the English parliamentary system; but, what is of more importance, it secured to the French the rights and liberties of the citizen—in a word, that civil status established by the conservative revolution of 1789.

If the Allies were unable to undo the real work of the Revolution in France, they undertook the difficult task of preventing the spread of liberal ideas elsewhere. On the first of November, 1814, their deputies met at Vienna. Their task was the reconstruction of Europe; the undoing, in so far as possible, of the results of the Revolution; the restoration of the conditions of 1789.

Congress of
Vienna.



TALLEYRAND.

Through the diplomatic ability of Count Talleyrand, the representative of Louis XVIII, France succeeded in securing her admission as one of the great Powers, and, as a fifth important member of the Congress, gave in many instances the deciding vote.

The chief difference of opinion between the Powers arose from a secret agreement between Russia and Prussia, whereby Russia was to acquire the whole of Poland, and Prussia was to be recompensed with the gift of Saxony, which was to be punished for its adherence to Napoleon after the other German states had dropped away. Talleyrand perceived at once that England would view with distrust an extension of the influence of Russia to the westward, and that Austria would never sanction such an addition to Prussian territories as would make Prussia the leading



CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

power in Germany. He therefore set about the formation of an alliance of England, Austria, and France, to oppose the plans of Russia and Prussia. The Tsar gave up with great reluctance his designs upon Poland, and Prussia, in the place of Saxony, was given territory on the west bank of the Rhine, including Cologne, Treves, and Aix-la-Chapelle. It is notable that, within a few months after the occupation of Paris by the Allies, France should come forward again as the determining factor in European politics. Much was due to the diplomatic skill of Talleyrand; but it may be questioned whether it was not a misfortune for France that the most vigorous of the German states should have been made the guardian of the Rhine against the French. The creation of Rhenish Prussia was the beginning of the struggle between Prussia and France, a struggle which ended in the discomfiture of France in 1871.

The Congress of Vienna discouraged the idea of Italian unity, which had been fostered by Napoleon. Here the principle of legitimacy was applied to effect the reorganization of the former Italian states. The Bourbon king, Ferdinand IV, was restored in Naples, and a score of petty dukes and princes came into their own throughout central Italy. Thus over a disunited Italy the influence of Austria was restored, and for fifty years this baneful interference held back the development of the peninsula. In Spain the Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII, was restored; the Catholic provinces of Belgium and Protestant Holland were united in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, under the former Stadthalter, William I.

England's territorial recompense was not great, considering the immense pecuniary sacrifices she had made for the destruction of the Napoleonic system. Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope she retained from Holland. Her reward, however, was greatest of all. The Continent, disunited and given over to internal strife, too much occu-

pied with political wrangling to permit the rise of a commercial and colonial policy, was her market for the greater part of the century. England was much impressed, however, as a result of her recent experience, with the danger of an exclusively European market. Her efforts were turned toward the establishment of trade relations with the Americas, and her championship of the independence of the South American Republics, which were seeking to cut adrift from the mother country, Spain, was an outgrowth of this policy.

The deliberations of the Congress of Vienna were rudely interrupted by the return of Napoleon from Elba. In spite of her sufferings in his wars, France was still enamored of the great Corsican. His democratic regime seemed the more attractive when contrasted with the aristocratic tendencies of the restored Bourbons. Louis XVIII was not popular, and it was his misfortune that his reign opened with the mutilation of France at the hands of the Allies. He naturally favored his friends of the *ancien régime* at the expense of the new men of the Empire. Returning nobles were given the military rank in the French army which they had acquired while fighting against France, and advanced over the veterans of the Empire.

When Napoleon heard of the dissatisfaction in France he felt that his opportunity had come. His stay at Elba was rendered difficult by the failure of the Allies to pay him the allowance agreed upon. Accordingly, on the 26th of February, Napoleon left the island, landed on the coast of France, and made his way northward, gathering force as he proceeded. As he approached Paris, Louis XVIII quitted the Tuileries and fled to Ghent in Flanders. Napoleon entered the palace, and the army and the populace declared for the Empire.

But the effort was in vain. The Allies were in arms, prepared for such an emergency. One great battle, Water-

The "Hundred Days."

loo, decided the issue of the Hundred Days. Napoleon retired to Paris, sought to flee to America, and, failing in this, delivered himself over to an English captain of the war-ship *Bellerophon*. He was exiled to the island of St. Helena, off the coast of Africa, where he died in 1821.

SOURCE REVIEW

The association of the Great Powers for the purpose of preserving the peace of Europe and of suppressing liberal tendencies is commonly known as the "Holy Alliance." The text of the Holy Alliance was prepared by the Tsar Alexander, under the influence of the religious exaltation which characterized his later days, and was published with the signatures of the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. It sets forth a high ideal of political action, but it is difficult to see that it exerted any marked influence upon the policy of Prince Metternich and his associates; indeed, it was regarded rather humorously by the diplomats themselves. Metternich called



ALEXANDER I., TSAR.

it mere "verbiage," and even the Emperor Francis signed with some misgivings. It is safe to say that it was in no respect the political program of the Allies; but the name was striking, and it came to stand for the whole policy of the Congress of Vienna. The following is the opening paragraph of the treaty: "Their majesties, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in view of the great events which the last three years have brought to pass in Europe, and in view especially of the benefits which it has pleased Divine Providence to confer upon those states whose governments have placed their confidence and their hope in Him alone, having reached the profound conviction that the

policy of the powers, in their mutual relations, ought to be guided by the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God our Saviour, solemnly declare that the present act has no other aim than to manifest to the world their unchangeable determination to adopt no other rule of conduct, either in the government of their respective countries or in their political relations with other governments, than the precepts of that holy religion, the precepts of justice, charity, and peace. These, far from being applicable exclusively to private life, ought on the contrary to control the resolutions of princes and to guide their steps as the sole means of establishing human institutions and of remedying their imperfections."

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§ 30. THE POLICY OF METTERNICH

Prince Metternich, prime minister of the Emperor of Austria, was the guiding spirit of the Restoration. To



METTERNICH.

him has been ascribed the policy with which for

thirty years the Allies sought to throttle the liberal sentiment of Europe. The watchword of the system was "legitimacy," its task to preserve intact the European status determined by the Congress of Vienna. It was particularly opposed to the granting of constitutions by rulers, and deplored the fact that in France this had been found nec-

essary. The liberal elements of Europe writhed under the weight of this repressive policy; but Metternich and his

armies were ever on the alert to repress all signs of revolt. The history of Continental Europe to 1848 is the story of the gradual weakening of this repressive policy, and its final abandonment.

France, in spite of the limitations imposed upon her by the conquerors of Napoleon, was politically much in advance of the other nations of the Continent.

France under
the Bourbons.

Her Charter of 1814 assured to her individual liberty, and gave, in the parliamentary system which it introduced, a fair field for the attainment of political liberty. The parliamentary system, even in England, whence it came, had not in 1814 reached its full development. It divided the powers of government between two factors, the king and parliament; but it had not yet been determined that the powers of the king were wholly administrative, and that the full power of legislation was possessed by parliament. Indeed in France, under Louis XVIII, the Charter reserved to the king the right to initiate legislation. The legislature could consider only those measures presented to it by the king. This limitation of the right of popular legislation was resented by the French, and was the beginning of a struggle for control between the legislature and the king, which ended in the overthrow of the Bourbons.

Louis XVIII died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, who came to the throne as Charles X. He was personally much less liberal than his brother. Standing for the principle of absolute monarchy, he represents the last struggle of the *ancien régime* against liberal ideas in France. His interests were with the "ultramontane" or Roman party. The wealthy middle class, which had been important in the Empire, was offended at seeing the court swarming with priests and nobles. A milliard of francs (\$200,000,000) was voted to the emigrant nobles, whose lands had been confiscated and sold by the Revolution. As representing a concession to the nobility this

measure was unpopular; but it was wise, because it set at rest forever the question of the validity of titles to land acquired through the Revolutionary government.

In 1830 the opposition to the king organized itself. An address signed by 221 deputies of the lower house criticised the king's speech from the throne, saying: "Harmony no longer exists between the political views of your government and the desires of your subjects." The king dissolved the legislature, but a new election brought back the 221 signers of the address. The king decided upon a *coup d'état*. By virtue of Article 14 of the Charter, which gave the king the power to "make the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and for the security of the state," Charles published four ordinances: suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the Chambers, limiting the right of franchise, and summoning a new legislature. Forty-four journalists protested against this arbitrary interpretation of the Charter. Their protest is interesting, as indicating the appearance of a new factor in politics—the press.

The king's act was answered with insurrection; barricades were erected in the streets of Paris on July 27th. The royal troops were driven from the city, and a provisional government invited Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the king's kinsman, to act as Lieutenant of the kingdom. Charles X abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count de Chambord, and retired to England. August 7th the Chambers named Louis Philippe "King of the French." The Charter of 1814, shorn of the dangerous Article 14, was presented by the people to the new king and by him accepted.

All over Europe, where the Bourbons were reseated on their thrones, the people were not long in finding the difference between Napoleonic and Bourbon institutions. Eagerly as Spain had struggled to pull the English chestnuts out of the fire and repulse the mild régime of Joseph Bonaparte, six years of Ferdi-

The Revolution
of July.

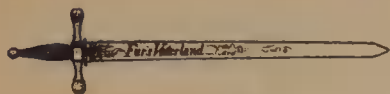
Spain.

nand VII brought them to rebellion. The troops assembled at Cadiz for transport to America marched against Madrid. Ferdinand was obliged to yield and re-establish the liberal constitution of 1812. But secretly he called upon the Allies, who assembled at Verona, and decided to send troops against the Spanish rebels. The position of the French king was embarrassing. Fearing to use his troops to put down a liberal government in a neighboring state, Louis was still more unwilling to permit a German or Russian army to pass through his kingdom on the way to Spain. Of the two evils he chose the former, and in April, 1823, a French army of 95,000 men marched to Madrid and restored to Ferdinand his absolute power. Thus was France made an instrument of despotism, much to the disgust of her people, and French troops were used to put down liberal ideas.

In Italy as well the Restoration brought revolution. Secret societies spread through the land; in 1819 the Carbonari numbered 60,000. In 1820 Naples Italy. revolted against the brutal government of Ferdinand IV, and forced the king to accept the Spanish constitution of 1812. A similar movement forced Charles Felix, King of Sardinia, to accept a similar constitution. But Austria was at hand, willing to make good her authority in Italy. At the mandate of the Allies she put down the liberals with troops and supplied the Neapolitan and Sardinian despots with foreign garrisons.

The Napoleonic régime affected Germany variously, but in one way or another it was the beginning of her modern life. Western Germany, from the Rhine to Germany. the Elbe, was directly affected by Napoleonic administration. The South German states—Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden—creations of the Napoleonic wars, were inspired with the liberalism of their French neighbor. Prussia, which had never known French administration, was nevertheless influenced by it. In her

darkest hour, when Berlin was in the hands of the enemy, and Prussia stood upon the verge of extinction, began a nationalist reaction, which, headed by the noble figure of the Queen, Louisa, and voiced by men of letters and university societies, reorganized Prussia in a modern sense, adopting voluntarily some of those ideas which the Revolution had forced upon western Germany. The names of Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst are forever associated with the introduction of economic and political reforms into Prussia and the reorganization of the Prussian army.



FLAG AND SWORD OF GERMAN
STUDENT SOCIETY.

The German states were formed by the Congress of Vienna into a loose German Confederation, under the presidency of Austria. Article XII of the constitution of the Confederation provided that each of the confederated states should have a constitution with representative government. But they were not accorded (except in Saxe-Weimar, and in a limited degree in Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden). In Prussia a powerful and ignorant nobility

held fast to its privileges; in Austria the influence of Metternich prevailed. The liberals protested, particularly the student organizations, which had contributed so much to the Liberation movement of 1814. In March, 1819, a theological student, Sand by name, stabbed the writer Kotzebue, who was suspected of being a Russian agent. Metternich was roused; he called the princes to a congress at Carlsbad. "Germany is seized with gangrene," he said, "and needs the hot iron." It was applied. A series of regulations, called the "Carlsbad decrees," were

made for Germany. In each university a special commission was appointed to watch the students and to arrest dangerous individuals. A special commission sat at Mayence for the apprehension of suspected persons. Thus all Germany, like Italy, fell into the hands of the Austrians.

SELECT READING

One of the tasks of the Allies was to restore to their respective owners the art treasures which the victorious Napoleon had transferred from the museums and palaces of Europe to Paris. A memorial from all the artists resident at Rome claimed for the Eternal City the entire restoration of the immortal works of art which had once adorned it. The allied sovereigns acceded to the just demand, and Canova, impassioned for the arts and the city of his choice, hastened to Paris to superintend the removal. It was most effectually done. The bronze horses (from Venice) were restored to their old station in front of the church of St. Mark. The Transfiguration and the Last Communion of St. Jerome resumed their place in the halls of the Vatican; the Apollo and the Laocoon again adorned the precincts of St. Peter's; the Venus was enshrined again amidst beauty in the Tribune of Florence; and the Descent from the Cross, by Rubens, was restored to the devout worship of the Flemings in the Cathedral of Antwerp. The amount of curiosities and valuable articles of all kinds—statues, paintings, antiquities, cameos, manuscripts, maps, gems, antiques, rarities—was immense. Among them were 127 paintings, many of them of the very highest value, taken from the palaces of Berlin and Potsdam alone; 187 statues, chiefly antique, taken from the same palaces during the same period; and 86 valuable manuscripts and documents seized in the city of Aix-la-Chapelle. The total articles reclaimed by the Prussians exceeded two thousand.—Adapted from Alison: *History of Europe*.

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CHAPTER XI

France since 1830

31. REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

THE unnatural union of Belgium and Holland, which the Congress of Vienna had decreed, was broken at the first shock of the Revolution of July. Brussels rose in revolt, and the Dutch officials were driven out of Flanders and Brabant. On the 18th of November a congress proclaimed the independence of Belgium. Circumstances were favorable for a union of Belgium with France. Language and interests were common ; but the Powers hastily intervened to prevent such an extension of French influence. A conference of ambassadors assembled at London, to settle the fate of Belgium. The Belgians organized a constitutional monarchy, and offered the crown to the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe ; but the French king, newly seated on the throne, was unwilling to arouse the antagonism of Europe, and especially of England, and the Duke of Nemours was instructed to decline the honor. The second choice of the Belgians was Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a petty German prince, related to George IV, King of England. He was made king. The King of Holland refused to accept the decision of the London Conference regulating the frontiers of Belgium, and a French army, with the mandate of the Powers, wrested Antwerp from the Dutch. It was not until 1839 that King William of Holland recognized the independence of Belgium. Thus in liberal northwestern Europe, by the expulsion of the Bourbons from France, and the recognition of the Belgian

insurgents, the system of the Congress of Vienna was falling to pieces.

The position of the new King of France, Louis Philippe, was one which called for much tact and diplomacy. The

The "Citizen King,"

king of a revolution, he owed his throne to a popular uprising, and to the hatred felt for the expelled Bourbons. It was necessary,

then, that he should show his democratic principles in his disregard for the pomp of royalty. His predecessor, Charles X, was anointed at Rheims with the sacramental oil of Clovis; the coronation of Louis Philippe was conducted without religious forms.

The Citizen King walked in the streets of Paris, clad in the modest frock-coat and stove-pipe hat of the bourgeois, and sent his sons to the public schools. At the beginning of his reign he avoided the Tuileries, and remained at his family residence, the Palais Royal, receiving deputations from the communes and cities of France, and shaking hands with his subjects in true democratic style.



LOUIS PHILIPPE.

But the problem which faced the "King of the Barricades," as his legitimist enemies called him, was one of great difficulty. Like any man raised to a mighty throne, he desired to rule with force and dignity, and to secure the succession for his sons. His problem was to establish himself in France, and to win his reception among the crowned heads of Europe, many of whom looked with suspicion upon his revolutionary origin.

One of his embarrassments came from the impulse which the Revolution of July gave to liberal movements throughout Europe. Everywhere liberals rose in insur-

rection against the yoke of Metternich, and looked to France for aid. France, the source of liberty, having thrown off the Bourbon dominion, would, it was thought, come again to the rescue of Europe. In Italy, in the Rhenish states of Germany, and in Poland the effect of the July Revolution was felt.

Louis Philippe
and foreign
insurrections.

But Louis Philippe had no desire, by means of such associations, to lay further emphasis upon his revolutionary origin. In France itself the difficulty of suppressing the Republican factions kept him sufficiently employed. The sole hope of the monarchy in France was to avoid a policy of foreign interference, and to disarm the suspicions of European courts by turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of foreign revolutionists. In Italy the French Government contented itself with demanding the withdrawal of Austrian troops from the Papal States, occupying Ancona with French troops as a check to Austrian influence. In Poland, when French public opinion clamored for intervention, Louis Philippe co-operated with England in a protest to the Tsar Nicholas against the revocation of the liberties granted to Poland by the Congress of Vienna. With these half measures the Bourgeois Monarchy gracefully withdrew from the leadership of liberal Europe.

The question of whether king or parliament should rule the land was inherited by the monarchy of Louis Philippe from the Bourbon régime, along with the Charter of 1814. Two great political parties were developed, representing the opposing views; one, under the leadership of Guizot (whose literary works have outlived his political fame), sustained the view that it was the king's prerogative to choose his ministers and formulate his policy independent of the desires of the majority in the legislature. The other party, headed by Thiers (whose great labors for France were just beginning), maintained that the king should choose his minis-

Parliamentary
struggle.

try in accordance with the will of the legislature, and leave his ministers to govern without personal interference. Its motto was: "The king reigns, but does not govern." Louis Philippe naturally inclined toward the policy of Guizot, and, after a period of parliamentary struggle, a temporary but fatal peace was obtained by the Guizot ministry, which inaugurated a system of electoral corruption, buying up the votes of deputies with offices and other executive favors and thereby gaining a majority in the legislature. Thus a deceptive calm was secured; but the liberal opposition, overcome in the legislature, was driven to other methods of appeal to the people, and the outcome was fatal to the monarchy.

The keynote of the foreign policy of Louis Philippe was the alliance with

The Spanish marriages.

England. The interchange of

goods and capital, resulting from this era of good-feeling between the two countries, was aiding the economic development of France and building

up the wealth of the middle class. The Spanish marriage, the result of the Citizen King's desire to establish his dynasty firmly in Europe, led to a rupture of these cordial relations, and to a weakening of the king's support. Queen Isabella of Spain and her younger sister, Louisa, were of marriageable age. Louis Philippe would have sought the hand of Isabella for his son, but England objected to so close a union of France and Spain as disturbing the "Balance of Power" in Europe. In 1845, however, it was settled that Isabella should marry a Bourbon prince, and that after an heir had been born to the Span-



Guizot.

ish throne, the Princess Louisa might be married to the Duke of Montpensier, a younger son of Louis Philippe. But through the excessive zeal of the French minister at Madrid the two marriages were celebrated simultaneously. The English Government regarded the affair as a breach of faith, and declared the good understanding between England and France at an end ; whereby Louis Philippe lost his great liberal ally, and injured the business interests of his middle-class supporters at home.

SELECT READING

I. Personality of Louis Philippe.—“ Louis Philippe, born in 1773, was the son of that notorious ‘Egalité’ who, during the revolution, had ended his checkered career under the guillotine. His grandmother was the noble Elizabeth Charlotte, a native of the Palatinate, who had the misfortune to be the wife of the effeminate Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. Louis Philippe was a Bourbon, like King Charles ; but the opposition of several members of this Orleans branch of the royal house had caused it to be regarded as a separate family. From his youth up he had displayed a great deal of popular spirit and common sense. Seemingly created by nature and career to be a citizen king, he had long since, as early as 1814, determined to accept the throne in case it were offered him.”
—Müller : *Political History of Recent Times*.

II. The System of Guizot, against which the efforts of the Liberals were directed.—“ The population of France was then 34,000,000, and the privilege of the political franchise was vested exclusively in those who paid in direct taxes a sum not less than forty dollars. The class numbered little more than 200,000. The government had 130,000 places at its disposal, and the use which was made of these during the eighteen years of Louis Philippe’s reign was productive of corruption more widespread and shameless than France had known since the first revolution. In the scarcely exaggerated language used by M. de Lamartine, ‘the government had succeeded in making a nation of citizens a vile band of beggars.’ It was obvious to all who desired the regeneration of France that reform must

begin with the representation of the people. To this end the liberals directed much effort. Reform banquets, attended by thousands of people, were held in all the chief towns, and the pressure of a peaceful public opinion was employed to obtain the remedy of a great wrong."—Mackenzie: *The Nineteenth Century*.

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§ 32. REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND SECOND EMPIRE

Several causes brought about the fall of the Bourgeois Monarchy and the Revolution of 1848:

Causes of Revolution of 1848.

1. The failure of the foreign policy of Louis Philippe, and especially the rupture with England, regretted by the moneyed classes.

2. The Liberal protests against the methods of the Guizot ministry, the corruption of the franchise. Since by these methods the Liberals lost their representation in the legislature, they inaugurated a campaign of banquets, at which the king and Guizot were criticized, and toasts were offered to the "Spirit of 1789."

3. Another and most important cause was the growth of a socialist movement, which took a strong hold upon the artisan population of Paris and of other industrial centers. The relations of labor and capital, of which we hear so much in our time, were coming to the front as public questions. France alone of Continental nations had advanced to a point where, the equality and rights of the citizen before the law having been established, she could turn her attention to the solution of the social questions. At this time socialism seemed to Frenchmen the natural remedy for social inequality. Louis Blanc, a socialist philosopher, developed a scheme of production, according to

which the state should assume control of all manufactures, and assure to each laborer the certainty of employment.

The Liberal reformers planned a great banquet in one of the wards of Paris, to voice the opposition to the policy of Guizot. The government forbade the meeting, and the revolt which ensued, although it seemed at first a mere demonstration, spread like wildfire through the inflammable and dissatisfied population of Paris. On the 23d and 24th of February the streets were full of fighting. Louis Philippe dismissed Guizot; but the concession came too late. Convinced of his unpopularity, and wishing to preserve the throne for his family, the king abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris; but the Chamber of Deputies, invaded by a mob, crying "Down with Royalty!" yielded to the popular demand and appointed a provisional government. Meanwhile the followers of Louis Blanc at the City Hall proclaimed the Republic.

A struggle ensued between these two factions. The followers of Blanc desired to introduce at once state socialism, and workshops were established in Paris for the unemployed; but the socialists were in the minority, and the deputies, who came in from all parts of France, in response to a summons for a Constitutional Convention, to devise a new government for the nation, had little sympathy with the socialist demands. They were republican, but not socialistic, and they decreed: "France shall be constituted a republic." "The French Republic is democratic. Its principles are Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; its foundations: the family, rights of property, public order."

The President of the Second Republic was elected by universal suffrage. Among the candidates was Louis Bonaparte, head of his house, and heir to the claims of Napoleon. The third son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon and for a time King of Holland (1806-1810), he had come to

Louis Bonaparte,
Prince-President.

be the representative of the Bonaparte party by the death of Napoleon's son, the "King of Rome" (1832), and of his own two elder brothers. Educated in Switzerland, Louis Bonaparte had made himself known to the French already by two ineffectual and absurd attempts to enter France and assert his imperial claims during the reign of Louis Philippe. After the first attempt he had been shipped off to America; but the second attempt led to his imprisonment in the fortress of Ham, whence he made his escape into Germany. After the fall of the "July Monarchy," Bonaparte came to Paris and was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. As candidate for the presidency he received, thanks to his name, 5,400,000 votes, against 1,118,107 for General Cavaignac. He took his seat with these words: "I shall regard as enemies of the Republic all those who seek to change by illegal methods that which France as a whole has established."

The insurrection of the socialists in February had inspired in France a profound fear of social revolution.

The great coup
d'état.

The result was that the elections returned as deputies to the new legislature a majority of monarchists (500 out of 750). By them the suffrage was restricted, taking away the votes of millions of laborers. This decreased the probability of Bonaparte's re-election in 1856 (the presidential term was seven years), and drove him to an act of violence. With the army at his back, he dissolved the legislature by force, and gave to the country a new constitution, modeled after that of the Consulate. The nation approved the President's act with 7,400,000 votes out of eight millions, and the Prince-



NAPOLEON III.

President was installed for ten years. Resistance in Paris and elsewhere was put down with an iron hand. (December 1-4, 1851.)

The next step came soon. In November, 1852, the Senate decreed the Empire, and its decree was ratified with a plebiscite. Louis Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor with the title of Napoleon III. The Emperor did not seek, like Louis Philippe, to ally himself with the dynasties of Europe, but married in the following year Eugénie de Montijo, a Spanish Countess. One child was born, the Prince Imperial, in 1856.

The second empire was, until its close, a period of prosperity for France. While parliamentary liberties were restricted by the autocratic policy of the Emperor, yet France regained to a certain extent her voice in European affairs. The revolution of 1848 had swept away Metternich and his policy, and the field was open for a master in diplomacy. Napoleon III did not rise to this level, but his earlier efforts won him some renown. In 1854 France, England, and Sardinia joined forces to defend Turkey against Russia. The Crimean War, with its siege of Sebastopol, brought the Emperor some credit. In 1859 he aided Italy in throwing off the Austrian yoke, completing the task his uncle had begun in the union of Italy, and received in return Savoy and Nice, added to the Empire. His later projects were less successful. The attempt to establish the Austrian Archduke Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico failed, owing to the hostile attitude of the United States.

Meanwhile the ambitious plans of Napoleon III brought him in contact with the rising power of Prussia, which in 1866 had defeated Austria and won the leadership of Germany. In diplomacy Napoleon was no match for Bismarck, and his failing health threw the decision of affairs more and more into the hands of the Empress and her clerical advisers, who bitterly op-

Fall of the Empire.

posed the growing Protestant power of Prussia. Fooled and humiliated by Bismarck in his effort to secure Luxem-



THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1867.

burg for France, the Emperor was spurred to a vigorous protest against the project of seating a prince of the house of Hohenzollern upon the vacant throne of Spain. The

candidate, Prince Leopold, was withdrawn, but the imperial government sought to soothe its wounded dignity by insisting upon a pledge from the King of Prussia that Prince Leopold should never again become a candidate. This was refused, and France declared war.

Under the stress of war the Second Empire collapsed. The French army was found to be unfit for service, although on paper it seemed large and powerful. Austria, the natural enemy of Prussia, and Italy, the beneficiary of France, refused a French alliance. Alone the French had to meet the army of von Moltke, the ablest military force the world had ever seen. The result was immediate; war was declared July 14, 1870; September 2d Napoleon capitulated at Sedan, and the Second Empire was at an end.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Organization of the workshops established in Paris. — "These workshops were established in the outskirts of Paris. A person who wished to take advantage of the offers of the government took from the person with whom he lodged a certificate that he was an inhabitant of the Department of the Seine. This certificate he carried to the officials of his ward, and obtained an order of admission to a work-shop. If he was received and employed there, he obtained an order on his ward for forty sous. If he was not received, after having applied at all of them, and found them all full, he received an order for thirty sous. Thirty sous is not high pay; but it was to be had for doing nothing; and hopes of advancement were held out. Besides this, bread was distributed to their families in proportion to the number of children. We have before us a list of those who had been enrolled on May 19th, and it amounts to 87,942. A month later it amounted to 150,000—representing, at four to a family, 600,000 persons—more than half the population of Paris. To suppose that such an army as this could be regularly organized, fed, and paid for months in idleness, and then quietly disbanded, was a folly of which the Provisional Government



AFTER SEDAN.

was not long guilty. They soon saw that the monster which they had created could not be subdued, if it could be subdued at all, by any means short of civil war."—Senior: *Journals kept in France and Italy, 1848-1852*.

The result was the terrible "Days of June" (June 23-26), which followed the closing of the workshops by the government, in which 12,000 persons lost their lives. At the crisis of a political revolution the conditions were particularly unfavorable for an industrial experiment of such magnitude.

II. Sedan; Fall of the Empire.—"That night—the night of September 1st—an aide-de-camp of the Emperor carried this note to the camp of the King of Prussia: '*Monsieur Mon Frère*. —Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your majesty. I am your majesty's good brother, Napoleon.' With Napoleon III fell not only his own reputation as a ruler, but the glory of his uncle and the prestige of his name. The fallen Emperor and Bismarck met in a little house on the banks of the Meuse. Chairs were brought out, and they talked in the open air. It was a glorious autumn morning. The Emperor looked careworn, as well he might. He wished to see the King of Prussia before the articles of capitulation were drawn up; but King William declined the interview. When the capitulation was signed, however, he drove over to visit the captive emperor at a château where the latter had taken refuge. The interview was private; only the two sovereigns were present. The French Emperor afterward expressed to the Crown Prince of Prussia his deep sense of the courtesy shown him. The next day he proceeded to the beautiful palace at Cassel called Williamshöhe." —Latimer: *France in the Nineteenth Century*.

The Emperor afterward removed to England, and died at Chislehurst, January 9, 1873.

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§ 33. THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The disaster of Sedan caused the fall of the Empire. The "Revolution of September 4," at Paris, drove the

Empress out of France, and established the Government of National Defense. "Government of National Defense." Its

representative, Jules Favre, sought to negotiate with Bismarck, but unwilling to meet the German demands for the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, the Government of National Defense resolved to continue the war. The seat of government was established at Tours, and as the Germans drew their lines about Paris, Gambetta, the



GAMBETTA.

head and soul of the French resistance, escaped from Paris in a balloon, and joined his colleagues at Tours. In spite of desperate effort the undisciplined French troops made little headway against the German army, and the surrender of Bazaine at Metz with 120,000 men was followed by the capitulation of Paris on January 28, 1871.

All hope being lost, an armistice was signed on the following day, and in February a National Assembly was convoked at Bordeaux, to discuss the terms of peace. Thiers was chosen to represent the French side, and he signed with Bismarck, at Versailles, the preliminaries of peace, which were formally ratified on May 10th, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. France lost Alsace and part of Lorraine, a loss of 1,500,000 citizens. She also engaged to pay a war indemnity of five milliards of francs (a billion of dollars), and to permit the occupation of French territory by German troops pending the payment of the indemnity.

But France had not yet touched the depth of her humiliation. The withdrawal of the German troops was

followed by a local insurrection, more destructive of the city than the German bombardment. A body of desperate men, socialists and revolutionists by trade, many of them foreigners, professing to fear a return of monarchy, organized an insurrectionary government (the "Commune") in Paris, and refused to recognize the National Assembly, which had changed its seat from Bordeaux to Versailles. It was only after days of fierce fighting that the troops of the National Assembly overcame the *Communards*, and then not until in its mad rage the Parisian mob had destroyed with fire some of the finest buildings of the city, monuments of art, such as the Palace of the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville (City Hall). Thousands of the *Communards* were killed and exiled, and their trials went on until 1876.

The National Assembly, "awaiting the nation's decision as to the eventual form of government," named Thiers "head of the executive power" avoiding the use of the word "Republic." Indeed the deputies of the people, in the years immediately following the fall of the Empire, were not in favor of republican government. It was only the struggle between the royalists and the Bonapartists that made the republic possible as a compromise. This is the leading fact in the history of the Third Republic. The Republic was a temporary makeshift, until the royalists or Bonapartists could develop, either of them, a preponderance of strength. Meanwhile these parties have lost their strength, and the Republic, originally a compromise, has survived and won popular esteem.

Meanwhile Thiers had taken the title of "President of the Republic." Originally an Orleanist, he became convinced that the Republic was best for France. Fearing lest he should make it permanent, the royalists and imperialists joined together to secure the defeat of Thiers' policy, and brought about his resignation. Marshal Mac-

The Commune.

Government of
Thiers (1871-
1873).

Mahon, a man of high character, personally a royalist, was elected by the conservative majority. At the beginning of

Presidency of Mac-
Mahon (1873-
1879).

his presidency an effort was made to unite the royalist parties (Bourbon and Orleanist) and give France a king. The Orleanist pre-

tendant, the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, visited the Count of Chambord, the Bourbon heir, at his residence of Frohsdorf in Austria. The Count of Chambord, "Henry V," as he was pleased to call himself, was childless, and the Count of Paris was willing to be chosen as his successor, thereby uniting the two lines. But the

royal claimants could not agree upon the flag of the combined monarchy. "Henry V," declared himself bound to retain the white flag of the Bourbons, "received as a sacred deposit from the old king, my grandfather, dying in exile," and to reject the tricolor, "symbol of revolution." The Orleanists had accepted the tricolor in 1830, and it was generally recognized that France would accept no monarch who brought



MACMAHON.

back the symbol of the Bourbons. This failure to adjust the royalist pretensions made the formal acceptance of the Republic inevitable. The National Assembly proceeded to the enactment of a series of constitutional laws, which form the body of the Constitution of 1875.

The President of the Republic is elected by a joint session of the legislative bodies, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, and holds office for seven years. He is permitted, in case of a legislative deadlock, to dissolve, with the consent of the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies.

Constitution of
1875.

The legislative power belongs to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies is chosen by universal suffrage. Members are elected for four years, and all are elected at one time. The Senate, as originally constituted, consisted of seventy-five life members, elected by the National Assembly from its own members. The remaining 225 members are chosen by indirect suffrage, the electoral college of each department being made up of local governing bodies within the department, such as city councils and the like. Senators serve for nine years, and one-third of the Senate is renewed every three years. By an amendment of 1884 no more life Senators are to be chosen.

All public acts of the President of the Republic are performed through ministers, who are responsible to the Chambers for the policy of the government. This ministerial responsibility makes the Chambers (and practically the Chamber of Deputies, because in France the Senate has drifted into the background) the prime factor in governing the country. Each deputy has the right of Interpellation; that is, he may, after due notice, call upon the ministry to explain or defend, before the Chamber, its policy or action in any matter. If the explanation is unsatisfactory to the Chamber, a resolution may be passed, expressing the Chamber's lack of confidence in the ministry, whereupon the ministry resigns, and the President has the task of forming a new ministry that will be satisfactory to the Chamber. In this manner the Chamber of Deputies controls the policy and acts of the government, and may be said to govern France.

As a result of the war of 1870, and the consequent loss of territory and prestige, France has lost her position of political superiority in Europe. If her intellectual superiority is no longer evident, it is due to no decline in the arts and sciences in France, but to the fact that other nations have advanced, and that intel-

France of to-day.

ligence and intellectual activity are now generally disseminated throughout Europe. Her colonial extension, which is, in modern times, so large an element of national progress, is hampered by the fact that the population of France does not increase, and there is no surplus of population for colonial settlement. But France is rich, and in no country are there more facilities for the enjoyment of life, or a greater degree of thrift and industry. Whatever the future position of France in Europe, she is entitled to the distinction of having been for two centuries the laboratory of ideas for Europe.

SELECT READING

I. The Commune.—Hopeless of maintaining their hold upon Paris against the troops of the French Government, the *Communards* in their rage sought to destroy the city. “On the 12th of May, in accordance with a public decree, they had destroyed the private residence of M. Thiers, with all its pictures and books; on the 16th the magnificent column erected in the Place Vendôme in memory of Napoleon I, and crowned with his statue, was undermined on one side and then pulled to the ground by means of ropes and utterly destroyed; and now on the 24th, in the last effort of despairing rage, bands of men and women, still more frantic and eager for blood than were those of the Reign of Terror, rushed through the doomed city. Early in the morning the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, the Palais d’Orsay, and other public and private buildings were seen to be on fire. The Louvre, too, with all its inestimable treasures, was in flames, and was saved with the utmost difficulty. If the Commune was to perish, it had clearly resolved that the city was to perish with it. Men and women marched about in bands with petroleum, and aided the spread of the conflagration by firing the city in different places.”—Martin : *Popular History of France*.

II. Last Chance of the Bourbons.—“Now was formed and matured a deliberate project to overthrow the young republic, and set up monarchy in its place. All circumstances combined to favor its success. The Orleanist princes agreed to

waive their claims, and the Count of Paris was persuaded to pay a visit to the Count of Chambord at his retreat at Frohsdorf, to acknowledge the elder Bourbon's right to the throne, and to abandon his own pretensions. The Assembly was carefully canvassed, and it was found that a majority could be relied upon to proclaim, at the ripe moment, Chambord as king, with the title of Henry V. The Republic was now, in the early autumn of 1873, in the most serious and real peril. It needed but a word from the Bourbon pretender to overthrow it, and replace it by the throne of the Capets and the Valois. Happily, the old leaven of Bourbon bigotry existed in 'Henry V.' He could concede the point of reigning with parliamentary institutions, but he would not accept the tricolor as the flag of the restored monarchy. He insisted upon returning to France under the white banner of his ancestors. To him the throne was not worth a piece of cloth. To his obstinacy in clinging to this trifle of symbolism the Republic owed its salvation. The scheme to restore the monarchy thus fell through. The result was that the two wings of monarchists flew apart again, and the republicans, being now united and patient under the splendid leadership of Gambetta, once more began to wax in strength."—Towle: *Modern France*.

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CHAPTER XII

The German Empire

§ 34. DEVELOPMENT OF PRUSSIA

ALTHOUGH Prussia, unlike the Rhenish states of Germany, did not pass under French domination, yet she was revolutionized by the crisis brought upon her by the wars of Napoleon. The system of Frederick the Great, although effective when vitalized by his genius, fell to pieces in the weak hands of his successors. Prussia was an absolute monarchy ; the people were without voice in the government. Society was divided into hereditary castes : nobles, citizens, and peasants. All civil and military offices were reserved for the nobles ; and the peasants lived in a condition of feudal subjection to the great landowners, who exercised over them the medieval rights of justice and control.

King Frederick William III was in no sense a reformer. It was with much hesitation, and against the advice of his nobles and officials, that he was induced to take the first steps toward reform. Curiously enough, the men who laid the foundations of modern Prussia were not Prussians. Baron Stein, the first of the great trio of reformers, was from Rhenish Germany ; Hardenberg and Schornhorst were Hanoverians. All came from parts of Germany that had been subjected to French influences.

The Prussian reformers were not the result of the political philosophy of the eighteenth century. There was no impulse in Prussia, as in France, to transfer the source of power from the monarch to the people ; no declaration of rights, after the manner of the Revolution of 1789. The



STEIN.

principle of despotic power remained unimpaired, and the reforms were, like those attempted by Joseph II of Austria, a gift of the king to the people ; and had for their object, not the concession of certain rights to the citizens of Prussia, but the reorganization of a broken-down régime, with a view of making the subjects of the king more able to contribute to the needs of the state.

Character of the reforms.

The most fundamental of these reforms was the edict of 1807, which broke down the social organization of castes. Up to this time the individual was bound to re-

main in the social group into which he had been born ; but by this edict nobles were permitted to enter into business or professional careers, and the line of **Industrial reforms.** division between burgher and peasant was no longer hard and fixed. In 1818 followed a law giving full liberty of change of residence and in the selection of a pursuit. "No man," the edict ran, "shall be restricted in the enjoyment of his civil rights and liberty, further than is necessary for the general welfare of the state." A decree of 1810 abolished the monopoly of gild organizations. Any person paying the license fee was permitted to follow his occupation anywhere in the kingdom.

Although the people were given no voice in the government of the kingdom, the king gave to his subjects a measure of local self-government in the **City administration.** administration of city affairs. In each city a council was created, the members of which were elected by inhabitants owning property or enjoying an income sufficient to endow them with the right of citizenship. This council was unsalaried ; but supervised the affairs of the city, in connection with elected officers, who devoted their whole time to the city administration, and were paid. The council controlled the city expenditures and imposed the taxes. This union of responsible citizens, serving for honor and for the common interest, with paid officials, supervised by them, has made the Prussian cities the best governed in the world.

The Prussian peasantry was of two classes : those who were tenants on crown lands, and were free from the burdens of serfdom ; and those on the private **Emancipation of the peasantry.** estates of the nobles, who were still attached to the soil and still subject to the degrading conditions of medieval land tenure. The introduction of Napoleonic reforms on both sides of Prussia, particularly the emancipation of the Polish serfs in 1807, forced the Prussian Government to take steps toward the improve-

ment of the condition of its peasantry. In 1807 "hereditary subjection" was abolished throughout the kingdom, and all persons were declared to be personally free. On crown lands peasants were given full ownership on payment of an annual sum to the crown. The same principle of instalments was applied in 1811 to the estates of nobles, except that here the peasants were obliged to give up one-third of their holdings to the landlords, retaining two-thirds for themselves. In this manner the question of joint feudal ownership was settled, and each given the right of ownership in the modern sense.

The reorganization of the army was the most complete of

The army.

the Prussian reforms, and one which was full of consequences for the future of Europe. Rejecting the old system of hiring troops, the new army was built up on universal military service. "All the in-



HARDENBERG.

habitants of the state are by birth its defenders." All able-bodied men were to become soldiers. The principle was most democratic, because it placed the military burden upon all classes alike. The period of service was fixed at three years, and the men who had been retired from the active army were kept in readiness by a short annual term of service in the reserve.

The adoption of universal military service was a turning-point in the history of Prussia. It gave her a national

army, full of patriotism, and a nation of drilled reserves. It made her a military nation, because war was the business and the affair of all. The system has since been extended to all the great states of continental Europe. France, after her defeat in 1870, reorganized her army on the Prussian model. The advantages of the Prussian military system are evident; its disadvantages are also great. While it permitted Prussia to rise to a position of the first military power in Europe, yet its adoption by the other states has fastened an immense burden upon the productive resources of Europe. Europe is a group of armed camps, each state straining, with limitless expenditures, to secure the highest efficiency in the art of war. The solution of this vexed problem of waste energy is one of the tasks of the twentieth century.

It will be evident, from the character of the reforms described, that Prussia, spurned by the heel of Napoleon, had roused herself from her antiquated despotism, and put herself into the path of modern progress. Some of her reforms were forced upon her by the spirit of the French Revolution; others were of her own conception; and of these the new municipal system and the military reorganization have contributed much to the substantial character of the modern German state.

SOURCE REVIEW

Fichte : philosopher and university professor, 1762-1814.—Touched by the sight of his country's humiliation under the flail of Napoleon, Fichte sought to rouse his countrymen to resistance. He is to be reckoned among those who, in the days of Germany's deepest humiliation, sounded the note of moral and political regeneration. The following is an extract from the *Addresses to the German Nation*, uttered in the presence of the French conquerors: "In these addresses the memory of your forefathers speaks to you. Think that with my voice there are mingled the voices of your ancestors from the far-off ages of gray antiquity, of those who stemmed with

their own bodies the tide of Roman domination over the world, who vindicated with their own blood the independence of these mountains, plains, and streams which under you have been suffered to fall a prey to the stranger. They call to you :—‘ Take ye our place ; hand down our memory to future ages, honorable and spotless as it has come down to you, as you have gloried in it and in your descent from us. Hitherto our struggle has been deemed noble, great, and wise ; we have been looked upon as the consecrated and inspired ones of a divine world-plan. Should our race perish with you, then will our honor be changed to dishonor, our wisdom into folly. For if Germany were ever to be subdued to the Empire, then had it been better to have fallen before the ancient Romans than before their modern descendants. We withstood those and triumphed ; these have scattered you like chaff before them. But as matters now are with you, seek not to conquer with bodily weapons, but stand firm and erect before them in spiritual dignity. Yours is the greater destiny—to form an empire of mind and reason ; to destroy the dominion of rude physical power as the ruler of the world. Do this and ye shall be worthy of descent from us.’ ”

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§ 35. THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

The idea of German unity was growing during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the enthusiasm of the successful struggle against Napoleon came a reawakening of the German instinct, a new desire for welding the fragments, into which the triumph of the separatist principle had split the ancient German Empire. The Congress of Vienna, however, followed by the influence of Austria, succeeded in repressing all tendencies looking to change. The French Revolution of July passed over Germany without effect ; the policy of Metternich remained unbroken.

The eve of the
 revolution.

Meanwhile, among the educated classes there was growing a spirit of dissatisfaction with the system of repression, combined with the desire for national unity and modern institutions. It expressed itself in the works of political writers. Von Gagern, prime minister of Hesse-Darmstadt, drew up a plan for establishing a central constitution, consisting of a president; a senate, representing the several states; and a popular chamber, elected by the German nation. It was at this time that the "German Rhine" and the "Watch on the Rhine," expressions of the nationalist spirit, became the popular songs of Germany. In 1847, the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a nationalist newspaper, was founded at Heidelberg by a professor of the local university, Gerwinus. In the same year a meeting of German radicals at Offenburg protested against the suppression of free thought; and a meeting of moderates at Heppenheim demanded the creation of a German parliament.

The outbreak of the Revolution of February in France suddenly developed this general dissatisfaction into revolution. As the news came from Paris the liberals organized meetings, demanded liberty of the press and a representative system. Fifty-one liberals met at Heidelberg and appointed a committee to assemble, at Frankfort, a *Vor-Parlament*, or preliminary parliament, which should make arrangements for the convening of a National Assembly and the organization of a united Germany.

The smaller German states assented without difficulty; but the great military kingdoms, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, were obstinate. In the meantime they were menaced with revolutions in their own capitals. On March 13th the Viennese rose and drove Metternich from his seat of power. Metternich fled to England, and his imperial master took refuge in the mountains of Tyrol. Prussia at once caught the revolutionary spirit; on the 15th of March barricades began to appear in the streets of Berlin. There

was here no liberal organization, only a discontented multitude, moved by a vague democratic feeling, that rose against the king.

King Frederick William yielded before the storm, informed, no doubt, of the collapse of the government at Vienna. He addressed the people, and spoke in favor of a "constitutional organization of the German states," by an "agreement of the princes with the people." Robed in the colors of the Empire—red, black, and gold—he presented himself to his subjects, accepting the leadership of German unity. For Prussia he announced himself in favor of a constitutional system, and sanctioned the convocation of a Prussian National Assembly.

Meanwhile the great assembly of the German nation came together at Frankfort. The deputies represented the intellectual élite of Germany—lawyers, university professors and literary men, full of ideas, but without political experience. The old imperial supremacy of Austria was recognized in the appointment of the Archduke John of Austria as "Imperial Administrator." To him the Diet of the old Confederation transmitted its powers and was dissolved. The Assembly then proceeded to the creation of a constitution for united Germany. The university professors occupied the time with profound and scholarly debates. During the nine months of learned deliberation, Prussia and Austria had recovered from their fright, and were prepared to resist the popular movement, to which, in a moment of weakness and fear, they had yielded. The insurrection at Vienna had been quelled with troops; at Berlin Frederick William felt strong enough to dissolve the Prussian National Assembly and proclaim a constitution of his own making. Thus when the Frankfort Assembly finally completed its constitution, in March, 1849, conditions were no longer favorable for its reception by the larger states.

The Assembly and the German people divided into two

parties : one, the "Great Germany" party, wishing to include all German elements, reconciled themselves to the admission of Austria, with her majority of non-German peoples : the other, the "Little Germany" party, rejected Austria. This was the party which looked to Prussian leadership, and, after some very exciting contests, it prevailed in the Assembly by a vote of 261 to 224. By a vote of 290 the King of Prussia was declared Emperor of the Germans.

But Frederick William refused a popular crown, "a crown of mud and wood." "If anyone is to award the crown of the German nation, it is myself and my equals who should give it." His liberal sentiments of the March days had evaporated ; he would not be the Emperor of a Revolution. The advice of other German governments was asked. Twenty-eight states accepted the constitution, the hereditary empire, and the choice of the Assembly ; the larger states, Würtemberg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover, however, rejected the election, jealous of Prussian control. Austria withdrew her deputies from the Assembly, and Frederick William, alarmed, definitely refused the imperial crown.

The Assembly, deserted by Prussia, struggled on, drifting into the hands of radicals. Revolutionary uprisings took place in Baden and elsewhere, but were quelled with force. In June the Assembly, reduced to 105 members, removed to Stuttgart. The government of Würtemberg finally closed the hall and scattered the delegates. The last stand of the radicals was taken in Baden, where the insurgents set up a provisional government. With Prussian aid they were conquered and dispersed. Many fled abroad, to Switzerland, France, and America. The republican party was exterminated in South Germany, the influence of Austria re-established, and the old Confederation restored.

End of the
assembly.

SELECT READING

The King of Prussia and the Imperial Crown.—"Frederick William had from early years cherished the hope of seeing some closer union of Germany established under Prussian influence. But he dwelt in a world where there was more of picturesque mirage than of real insight. He was almost superstitiously loyal to the House of Austria; and he failed to perceive, what was palpable to men of far inferior endowments to his own, that by setting Prussia at the head of the constitutional movement of the epoch he might at any time from the commencement of his reign have rallied all Germany round it. Thus the revolution of 1848 burst upon him, and he was not the man to act or to lead in time of revolution. Even in 1848, had he given promptly and with dignity what, after blood had been shed in his streets, he had to give with humiliation, he would probably have been acclaimed Emperor on the opening of the Parliament of Frankfort, and have been accepted by the universal voice of Germany. But the odium cast upon him by the struggle of March 18th was so great that in the election of a temporary Administrator of the Empire in June no single member at Frankfort gave him a vote. Time was needed to repair his credit, and while time passed Austria rose from its ruins. In the spring of 1849 Frederick William could not have assumed the office of Emperor of Germany without risk of a war with Austria, even had he been willing to accept this office on the nomination of the Frankfort Parliament. But to accept the imperial crown from a popular assembly was repugnant to his deepest convictions. Clear as the Frankfort Parliament had been, as a whole, from the taint of Republicanism or of revolutionary violence, it had, nevertheless, had its birth in revolution: the crown which it offered would, in the King's expression, have been picked up from blood and mire. Had the princes of Germany by any arrangement with the Assembly tendered the crown to Frederick William the case would have been different; a new Divine right would have emanated from the old."—Fyffe: *Modern Europe*.

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§ 36. THE NEW EMPIRE

Frederick William IV, who so successfully quenched the fires of German patriotism in 1849, became mentally incompetent in 1857. His brother William became regent, and on the death of Frederick William, in 1861, succeeded to the crown. The autocratic spirit of King William was shown at his coronation. "The kings of Prussia," he said, "receive their crowns from God." At the outset the king found himself in conflict with the Prussian House of Representatives. The "Progress" party demanded the completion of the "Constitutional State," and enforced its opposition by refusing to vote appropriations for the increase of the army.

Bismarck and
absolutism.



BISMARCK AT THE OPENING OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER.

The King dissolved the House of Representatives, and called to his aid Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen, a gentleman of Brandenburg, known for his distrust of parliamentary institutions and his devotion to the principle of absolute rule. The policy of Bismarck became the policy of the crown. Together King William and his minister created the Germany of to-day. Their methods were unconstitutional, and their diplomacy was wily, but their plans were well formulated, and their efforts crowned with success. "It is not Prussia's liberality that Germany looks to, but her military power," said Bismarck; and again: "The unity of Germany is to be brought about not by speeches, nor by the votes of majorities, but by blood and iron." In this spirit Bismarck solved the difficulties with the legislature; the protests of the House of Representatives were disregarded, and the crown raised directly the money needed for the army.

The union of Germany under Prussian leadership was accomplished by means of three wars: one with Denmark in 1864; the second with Austria in 1866, and the third with France in 1870. The Danish war arose from a dispute over the succession to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. King Frederick VII of Denmark was the last of the male line which united under one crown the kingdom of Denmark and the Duchies. The future of the Duchies had been taken up by a convention of the great Powers in London, in 1852, when it had been decided to continue the union under Christian IX, the successor of Frederick VII to the throne of Denmark. The Estates of the Duchies, however, had not ratified the decision of the London Conference. A majority of the inhabitants of the Duchies were German, and desired a separation from Denmark; but on his advent to the throne, King Christian sought to carry out the decision of the Powers.

This led to an explosion of German national feeling.

The Schleswig-Holstein controversy.

The Diet of the German Confederation, championing the cause of the Germans in the Duchies, ordered the occupation of Schleswig and Holstein by the troops of Saxony and Hanover. But Bismarck disregarded the action of the Diet. Inducing Austria to act with him, he caused Prussian and Austrian troops to be moved into the Duchies, and swept aside the forces of the Diet. The war with Denmark was brief. By the treaty of Vienna (October 30, 1864) Denmark ceded the Duchies to the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria jointly. They were divided, Austria taking Holstein, and Prussia Schleswig.

But Bismarck was not content with this solution. The time had come for a trial of strength with Austria, a contest for the leadership of Germany. The Prussian army had shown its metal, and was ready for the task. The affair of the Duchies furnished the occasion; urging as a pretext that the Austrian government of Holstein was working in a way prejudicial to Prussian interests, Prussia marched her troops into Holstein and drove the Austrians out of the Duchy.

Meanwhile Bismarck had been making his preparations for a war with Austria. The neutrality of Russia, the "backbone of the Bismarckian policy," had been assured; to Napoleon III, Bismarck held out vague hopes of a recompense in the lower Rhine country, perhaps the Duchy of Luxemburg; and with Italy an offensive alliance was formed, the price of Italy's aid to be the province of Venetia, an Italian state still held by Austria. Even to the Diet of the Confederation, which both Prussia and Austria had discredited in the scramble for the Danish lands, he made overtures, announcing that Prussia "held to the unity of the German nation," and promising a new federal constitution with an elective parliament.

The war was brief. The minor German states, fearful of Prussia's power, armed against her. Hanover and

The Seven Weeks' War (June-July, 1866).



CORONATION OF EMPEROR WILLIAM I AT VERSAILLES.

Hesse-Cassel were overrun, and the great battle of the war was fought against the Austrians at Sadowa in Bohemia (July 3, 1866). Austria was beaten at the start, with the Prussians invading from the north and the Italians on her southern borders. The issue of the war established the supremacy of Prussia over the German states. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, Schleswig-Holstein, and the free city of Frankfort were annexed to Prussia; Venetia went to Italy. The German Confederation was dissolved and a new union formed, the North German Confederation, with the King of Prussia as president. The new Confederation more nearly fulfilled the dreams of German patriots. Its upper house was composed of representatives of the several states; its lower house elected by universal suffrage. Here was a German national government, with a strong executive and a democratic parliament. It lacked only the final step to convert it into the Empire.

Napoleon III committed a grave error in passively contributing to the rise of Prussia. His true policy would have been to keep open the question of German leadership, and this might have been done, if he had inclined to Austria in the Seven Weeks' War. But he was wheedled into neutrality by Bismarck with the vague promise of Luxemburg. After the Peace of Prague Bismarck had no further need of Napoleon, but by a series of subtle irritations he kept alive the French sense of humiliation, until it burst forth in bitterness, of which the war of 1870 was the result. That magnificent engine of war, the Prussian army, projected by the patriots of the Liberation period, and perfected by the genius of von Moltke, swept over France almost without resistance. By its side marched the armies of the South German states, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, upon whose hostility to Prussia Napoleon had counted, but who were won for German unity. In the Hall of Mirrors of the palace of Versailles, surrounded by a victorious army, the King of

The Empire.

Prussia was crowned Emperor in the presence of the German sovereigns (January 18, 1871) receiving the crown

“from himself and his equals.” The Empire included all the German lands, save those of Austria. The conquered territory of Alsace and Lorraine was not annexed to Prussia, but became an imperial province, common to all the Empire.



THE PRINCE OF PRUSSIA,
in 1849.

(Afterwards Emperor William.)

Germany of
to-day.

been one of remarkable prosperity and

growth. In commerce and

manufacture Germany has become the second power of Europe, rivalling Great Britain.

In education, in invention, in the arts and sciences, she has no superior. Her political organization differs from that of the states of western Europe. The Emperor is an autocrat; his will constitutes the policy of the nation; no real parliamentary government exists. Thus far the Emperor's policy has been acceptable to the nation, so great is the gratitude of the German people to the Hohenzollern founders of Germany's greatness.

Prosperity as well has made all things tolerable. The real problem of popular government has yet to receive its solution in Germany.



WILLIAM II.

SELECT READING

Military Service in Germany.—"In Germany the army is the nation in a literal sense. According to the letter of the law, every male subject is liable to be called on to serve when he has completed his seventeenth year, and the liability continues to the end of his forty-fifth year. The term of service in the standing army is seven years, and it usually begins with the twenty-first year. Two years (instead of three, as formerly) are now passed with the colors, after which the time-expired soldier passes by successive stages into the first reserve, the *Landwehr*, and finally into the *Landsturm*. This last is the army of emergency, comprising all male citizens between the ages of seventeen and forty-five who do not belong to the army or navy, and it is only intended to be called up in the event of the regular forces proving insufficient for home-defense. Though obligation to serve his country under arms applies to every able-bodied German save the members of reigning and mediatised houses—who, nevertheless, are seldom slow to act upon the principle of *noblesse oblige*—the law is applied with all possible leniency. Physical weakness, even of a slight character, exempts, of necessity; but the sole bread-winners of families, theological students, and even the sons of farmers, tradespeople, and others who cannot be spared from home, are also excused. Further latitude is allowed by the enrollment of what are known as 'One-year volunteers,' who enjoy a curtailed service in consideration of their satisfying certain high educational requirements, and undertake to clothe, maintain, and house themselves during the year with the colors without cost to the state."—Dawson: *German Life in Town and Country*.

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- KEY**
- Germans
 - Czechs
 - Slovaks
 - Ruthenians
 - Poles
 - Magyars
 - Slovenes
 - Serbo Croats
 - Italians and Latins
 - Roumanians

Distribution of Races in
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

ENGLISH MILES
0 50 100 150
24"

16' Longitude East from Greenwich

CHAPTER XIII

Austria since 1848

§ 37. THE RACE QUESTION

No understanding of the problems of Austria in the nineteenth century is possible without taking into account

Its importance in Austria. her racial composition. The Empire of Austria is a conglomeration of peoples, living side by side under the same sovereign. It

has often been remarked that the name "Austrian," unlike the names "Italian" or "French" or "Spanish," has no racial signification. An "Austrian" may be one of a dozen different nationalities, each speaking a different language and representing a different stage of civilization. In early times this mosaic of peoples was held together with the cement of German culture. The Germans, although a minority of the population, possessed the learning and the ability to govern. They were the ruling classes, and the other races were content to occupy a subordinate position. With the spread of intelligence, however, and the general improvement in the condition of the subject races, these non-German peoples came to possess a sense of national pride; each race began to cultivate its language, literature, and traditions, and to insist upon a recognition of its nationality in the councils of the Empire. The German nationality has given way before the non-German majority with great reluctance. The struggles of the rising nationalities for power has threatened and still threatens the integrity of the Empire, and is to-day the factor in European politics most likely to bring about a reconstruction of European boundaries.

For the study of the races of Austria it is convenient to divide them into seven groups :

Races of Austria. 1. *The Germans*.—The central lands of the Austrian crown, lying west of Vienna along the upper Danube, comprising the provinces of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and Tyrol, are essentially German. At Vienna and elsewhere throughout this region the German language and culture prevail.

2. *The Czechs*.—In the provinces of the Crown of Bohemia, Bohemia and Moravia, the population is mainly Slavic (Czech), although there are islets of German population scattered here and there, particularly in the north-west portion of Bohemia, adjoining Saxony. The Czechs are proud of their nationality, and for centuries have protested against German supremacy. The fact that they are a small national group, surrounded on three sides with Germans, and intermixed throughout with German population, makes the problem of their political future one of especial difficulty. Their nearest kinsmen are the Poles, also a Slavic people, on the east.

3. *The Poles*.—Galicia, on the northeast, is the part of Poland that fell to the share of Austria. The inhabitants of Galicia are mostly Poles, although in the eastern part the peasantry are Ruthenians, another Slavic people.

4. *The South Slavs*.—Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs. These people, the last to come forward in the path of intellectual and national aspiration, were simple peasants at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They inhabit the southern tier of provinces of Austria and Hungary, the coast lands—Krain, Croatia, and Slavonia. A group of Slavs of less development are the Slovaks, in the north-western part of Hungary, adjoining Moravia. These are the people who come in large numbers to the United States under the name of Hungarians.

5. *The Magyars or Hungarians*.—They are the ruling element of the Kingdom of Hungary, which lies between



PRAGUE, CAPITAL OF BOHEMIA.

Austria and the Carpathian Mountains on the east. Of Tartar origin, speaking a language which has no relationship with the other languages of civilized Europe, the Magyars have ever been a proud, independent people, conscious of their racial isolation and jealous of foreign control. By constant protest and armed resistance they have prevented their absorption by the Austrian Germans, and have kept the Crown of St. Stephen, the national emblem of Hungarian independence, distinct from the imperial crown of Austria.

6. *The Roumanians.*—These people, claiming to be descendants of ancient Roman colonists, and speaking a language related to Italian, inhabit the eastern part of Hungary, the province of Transylvania. The greater part of the Roumanian race lies still farther east, in the Kingdom of Roumania. Until recently the Roumanians of Hungary were rude, ignorant people, peasants and shepherds, kept in subjection by the Magyars and the German (Saxon) colonists, who migrated from the west centuries ago and settled on the borders of Hungary. Of late the Roumanians have felt the spur of national pride, and have been developing in sympathy with their kinsmen of the Kingdom of Roumania.

7. *The Italians.*—In 1848 Austria ruled over a large Italian population, all northern Italy, from the Adriatic to the Kingdom of Sardinia. The greater part of these people have since been gathered into the Kingdom of Italy; but a few Italians still remain under the rule of Austria. They are found in the southern portion of Tyrol, which stretches down through the Alps toward the plains of Lombardy, and in the towns of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, from Triest southward, which were formerly part of the maritime state of Venice.

From this brief review of the distribution of races in Austria and Hungary, it will be evident that her political problem is a complicated one, increasing with the develop-

ment of the national spirit in the various nations of which she is composed. It is a new separatist tendency, more serious than the old separatism of Germany, which so long prevented German unity, because it is based upon the deep and wide distinctions of race. The internal history of Austria since 1848, when the great impetus was given to racial development, has been an effort to avoid, in so far as possible, the claims of the warring racial units to a proportionate share in the government of the Empire, at the expense of former German supremacy.

SELECT READING

I. Development of the Czechs.—"Whoever knows what Bohemia was thirty years ago, and compares the racial conditions then with those of to-day, must wonder at the changes that have taken place. The Czech has progressed materially and intellectually in a manner which cannot fail to strike the impartial observer with wonder. Up to the end of the fifties, most of the towns in Bohemia had a decided German character. The better classes almost exclusively spoke German; the schools, the academies, the theatres, commerce and industry—all these were entirely German. The Czech language was only spoken by the peasant and the villager, or, in the case of the towns, by the working-class and domestics. How all this has altered!

"In the course of thirty years the Czechs have created a powerful political party, a literature and a musical school of their own. We have it on the authority of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that at the present day their more prominent names in philosophy, theology, and politics are too numerous to be mentioned in detail. In all Slavic districts a network of savings banks, public credit institutions to advance money to small traders, co-operative societies and manufactories, has been spread out far and wide. Slavic schools are everywhere largely attended, commerce and industry are flourishing. In short, the Czechs have everywhere risen to the level of their German competitors."—Whitman: *The Realm of the Hapsburgs*.

II. Modern Hungary.—"The world has been accustomed to marvel at the growth of trans-oceanic communities. Hungary, however, can show an almost equally remarkable spectacle. Here is a great country of the past, in which national independence had been forfeited 250 years prior to the collapse of Poland, and which continued to exist at one time as a Turkish province, at another as a portion of Austria, but which suddenly becomes endowed with new life, makes peace on equal terms with its conqueror, and rises up again a new nation. In the course of a short space of twenty-five years, this people succeeds in creating commerce and manufacture, a network of railways, a thorough system of public education, a national school of literature, science, drama, painting, and music. These, and many other things besides, have the Hungarians succeeded in bringing into life, mainly by the force of national enthusiasm. Other factors as well have, of course, been at work. In the first place, the bounteous hand of Nature herself has given her in the Danube a river similar to what the Mississippi is to North America. Then, again, she is possessed of a soil, the fertility of which qualifies her to be the granary of Europe; though against this must be placed the excess of heat, and consequently recurring disastrous droughts and floods."—Whitman.

REFERENCES

Judson : *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 167-169;
 Alison Phillips : *Modern Europe*, pp. 241-249.

§ 38. REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN AUSTRIA

Up to 1848 the iron rule of Metternich held together the nations of Austria; but in spite of all repressive measures the new ideas of liberty found their way into the Hapsburg dominions. In Prague the Czechs established reviews and clubs; in Hungary Louis Kossuth, a young lawyer, founded the first Magyar political paper; Galicia was a centre of Polish plots; and in the south the Croats were dreaming of a

Insurrection of
 Vienna.

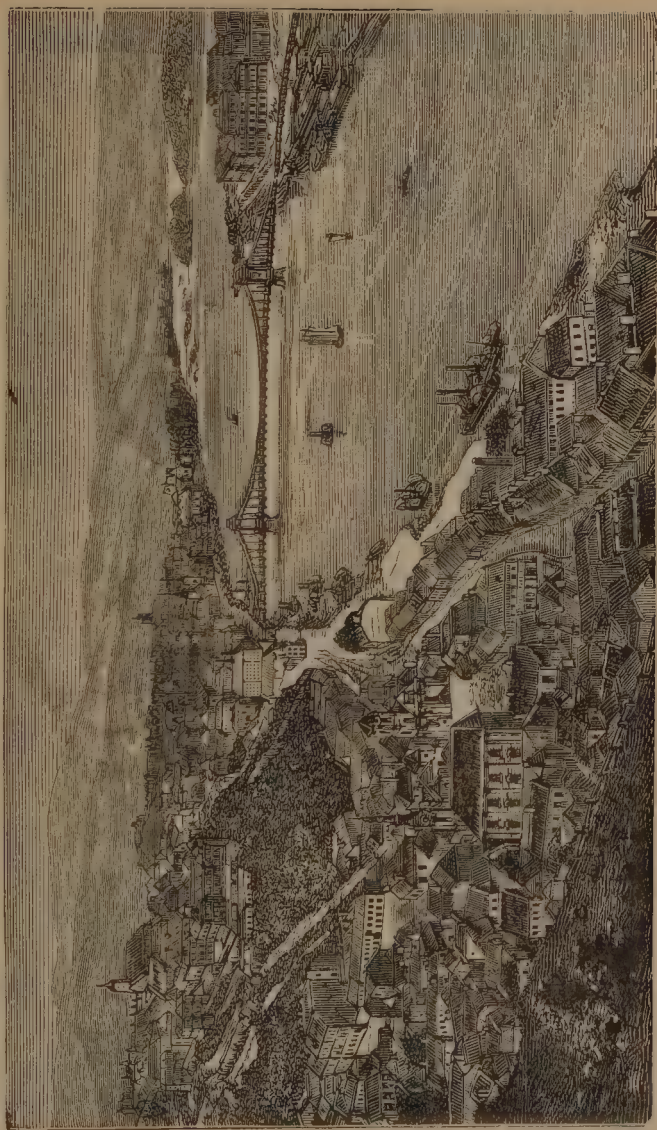
Kingdom of Illyria. To make matters still more complicated, the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia, held by Austria and bitterly hating Austrian rule, were on the verge of revolution. Even in the German lands a spirit of liberalism was abroad.

Only a spark was necessary to set Austria aflame ; and this was furnished by the French Revolution of February. In Vienna the revolution came with a single riot. A mob, headed by students, cried "Down with Metternich !" A provisional government was established in Vienna by the insurrectionists. The imperial authorities were terror-stricken, and, yielding to the demands of the revolutionary committee, convoked an assembly, elected by universal suffrage, for the purpose of drafting a constitution. Metternich escaped to England, and the Emperor, a feeble man, fled with his family to the fastnesses of Tyrol. The Constitutional Assembly met at Vienna, July 22d ; among the deputies were ninety-two peasants. It abolished all feudal rights, as the French Assembly had done fifty years before, and suppressed all distinctions between nobles and commoners.

In Hungary the liberal elements were unchained. A Committee of Safety was chosen, and a demand made upon the Emperor for a liberal constitution. Reforms were voted : *liberty of the press, equalization of taxes, and the abolition of feudal rights.* A constitutional Assembly met at Budapest, and henceforth Hungary was governed separately and made independent of Vienna ; an army was formed, the national Hungarian colors adopted, and a separate currency.

Likewise in the Slavic provinces the separatist tendency prevailed. The Czechs in Prague formed a Slavic militia and prepared for resistance. A provisional government was formed and a National Assembly promised from Vienna. The South Slavs rose in revolt under the leader-

Throughout the
Empire.



BUDAPEST.

ship of Jellacić, a Croatian colonel. Even in Transylvania the Roumanian peasants held a mass-meeting, and demanded equality with other nations of the Empire.

In Italy Lombardy and Venetia strove to break the Austrian bonds. At Milan the Austrian troops were driven from the city. Venice proclaimed the Republic of Saint Mark, and, thinking the time had come to strike for Italian unity, marched to the aid of the Italians of Lombardy and Venetia. The fate of Austria seemed at hand.

Fortunately for the house of Hapsburg, the army was faithful and unconquered. Two able generals turned the fortunes of the Empire, General Radetzky in Lombardy and Count Windischgrätz in Bohemia. The collision between the populace and the garrison in Prague came on the 12th of June. A week later Windischgrätz was in possession of the city, and the Bohemian revolution was at an end. In Italy Radetzky met the Sardinian king, Charles Albert, routed him in a series of battles, and won back Lombardy.

This gave the government at Vienna a breathing spell, and set free troops for the reduction of Vienna and the East. With Hungary a fatal weakness lost her her cause. Much as the Magyar hated the German, he hated the Slav with equal intensity. It was one thing for Hungary to seek her national independence; but quite another thing to concede the same to the Croats, especially when it meant the separation of Croatia and Slavonia from the Crown of St. Stephen. This jealousy of the South Slavs was made use of by the government at Vienna. Hungary was put under martial law, its liberties revoked, and Jel-
The reaction. lačić, the Croat, appointed to supreme military and civil command. In this manner the Croats were played off against the Magyars.

But now the trouble shifted to Vienna. The populace of the capital had no sympathy with the Emperor's vacillating policy toward the Hungarians. It rose to prevent

troops from going against Hungary ; a mob surrounded the residence of the minister of war, called him out, and hanged him. The Emperor fled again in terror, this time into Moravia, and in an imperial manifesto called upon the Austrian people to rise against the revolution. Again the army saved the day. Windischgrätz marched upon Vienna from the north ; Jellačić advanced from the east, while a Hungarian army came up the Danube to the aid of the Viennese insurgents. The Hungarians were repulsed by Jellačić, and Windischgrätz took the city. Vienna was subjected to a reign of terror.

A stronger hand came to the helm ; the weak-minded

Emperor Ferdinand was induced to abdicate in favor of his nephew,

Francis Joseph. Aided by an able minister, Count Schwarzenberg, the new Emperor set aside the conflicting promises of his predecessor, and pro-

ceeded to crush the liberal-national movement throughout the Empire. In Hungary the radical party, led by Kossuth, secured control and declared the independence of Hungary, proclaimed the Hungarian Republic, and elected Kossuth president. With 50,000 men in the field Hungary was no mean antagonist ; but Austria's resources were not yet at an end. She called on Russia for aid, and Nicholas the Tsar, fearing the establishment of republican institutions on his borders, readily responded and sent an army of 80,000 men into the Magyar country. The Hungarian Republic was lost ; Kossuth and his immediate followers fled to Turkey. (Capitulation of Vilagos, August 13, 1849.)



KOSSUTH.

In Austria the imperial government dissolved the Assembly, “for having placed itself in contradiction with the actual conditions of the monarchy.” A constitution was granted by the Emperor, with a legislature and a responsible ministry ; but it was never put into operation and was revoked by imperial decree in 1851. Hungary was declared to have forfeited, by its late revolt, its ancient privileges ; was cut into five administrative districts, and governed by officials from Vienna. An imperial manifesto announced the intention of “uniting into one great state all the countries and races of the monarchy.” The dream of Joseph II seemed likely to be realized with force.

The return of absolutism.

Yet the revolution of 1848 was not entirely without results of the better sort. The hasty abolition of feudal rights, accomplished by the revolutionary assemblies in Vienna and at Budapest, could not be undone. If politically the Empire and its dependencies were projected into a deeper gloom of absolutism, yet socially and economically much had been gained.

SELECT READING

How Kossuth became famous.—“He was a gentleman of noble origin, of course, but his whole fortune lay in his talents, which at that period (1832) were devoted to journalism, a profession which the Hungarians had not yet learned to estimate at its full value. At this time no printed proceedings of the Hungarian parliament had ever yet been published. To supply this defect, Kossuth resolved to devote the time, which would otherwise have been wasted in idle listening, to carefully reporting everything that took place, and circulated it all over the country in a small printed sheet, which was read with extraordinary eagerness. The Cabinet, however, took alarm, and prohibited the printing of the reports. This was a heavy blow, but Kossuth was not baffled. He instantly gathered around him a great number of young men to act as secretaries, who wrote out a great number of copies of the

journal, which were circulated in manuscript through Hungary. The government stopped his journal in the post-office. He then established a staff of messengers and carriers, who circulated it from village to village. The enthusiasm of the people was fast rising to a flame. Kossuth was seized and thrown into prison. The charge brought against him was, that he had circulated false and inaccurate reports; but the real ground of the offense was, as everybody knew, that he had circulated any reports at all."—Condensed from E. L. Godkin: *History of Hungary*.

REFERENCES

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Alison Phillips: *Modern Europe*, pp. 275-308 passim.

§ 39. THE DUAL GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The system of absolutism and national repression remained intact so long as Austria continued prosperous.

When, however, she met with the first of a series of reverses, which drove her out of Italy and reduced her to a second place among the states of Germany, she found it necessary to make peace with her subjects.

In 1859 Italy, under the leadership of Sardinia, and with the help of Napoleon III, achieved her unity. In a series of battles fought on the plains of northern Italy the Austrian troops were defeated by the combined forces of Italy and France. Lombardy was lost, and Venetia alone left to Austria south of the Alps. After the defeat of its army, the government of Francis Joseph, wishing to reorganize its military establishment, found its credit gone. A loan offered in 1860 was only partially subscribed. Evidently the people were out of sympathy with the government.

The Emperor appealed directly to his subjects, offering reforms in exchange for their support. A certain liberty

of political discussion being permitted, the political elements of the empire soon formed themselves into two parties: the party of unity, which sought a continuance of German administration at Vienna; and the federalist party, which wished to make the various national governments independent of Vienna. These were the Magyars, Czechs, Poles, Croats, and Slovenians.

The Emperor was at first inclined to give full play to public opinion. The federalist party was in the majority,



FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR
OF AUSTRIA, KING OF
HUNGARY.

and in 1860 Francis Joseph restored the national Diets, abolishing the common ministry of the Empire. But with this measure of liberty Hungary rapidly took the lead to complete independence of the Empire. Her Diet declared for the Constitution of 1848, the constitution of the Revolution which had constituted Hungary an independent state. The Emperor, hastening to check the disintegration of his Empire, published the Additional Act of 1861, which, while pretending to

amend the Constitution of 1860, introduced quite another system. Its leading feature was an annual parliament for the Empire, consisting of two houses: a House of Lords, appointed by the Emperor, and a House of Representatives of 343 members, chosen by the provincial Diets. The Emperor was to appoint his ministry and retain absolute control of the government. It was altogether a constitution differing not widely from the French Charter of Louis XVIII.

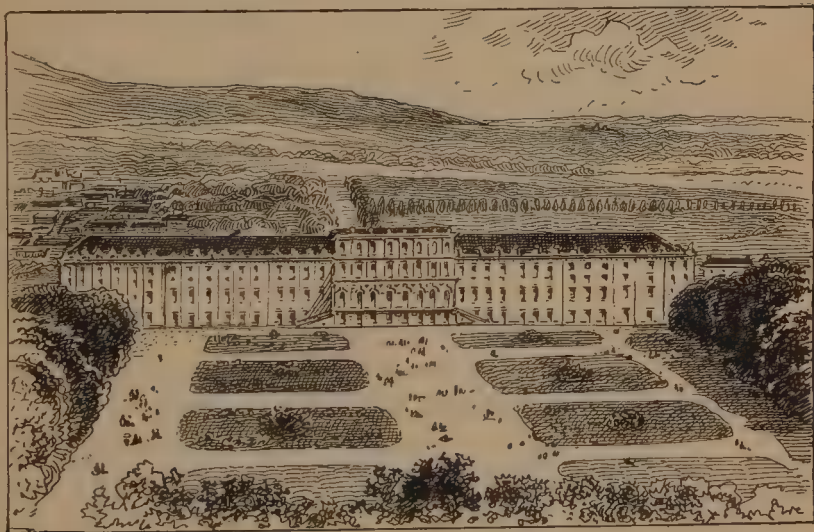
The greater nationalities protested. Hungary, under the leadership of Deák, refused to accept the constitution,

declaring that it would never "sacrifice the constitutional independence of the nation." The Magyars refused to

send delegates to the central parliament, and

Dualism.

refused to pay taxes. The Czechs and Poles eventually followed, and withdrew their delegates. There remained in the parliament only the Germans and the delegates of the lesser nationalities. The Vienna authorities were obliged to govern temporarily as best they could, abandoning constitutional methods. The deficit contin-



SCHÖNBRUNN, SUMMER PALACE NEAR VIENNA.

ued, debt increased, and prosperity waned. At length, Francis Joseph, disgusted with the system of unity, despairing of breaking down the resistance of Hungary, opened negotiations with the Magyars on the basis of the old relations between Austria and Hungary.

The war of 1866 with Prussia, the defeat of Sadowa, the humiliation of Austria and the loss of Venetia to the Italians broke the spirit of the Emperor, and made him willing to adopt a policy of complete reconciliation with his subjects. It was a choice between Dualism, which

would reconcile the Hungarians, and win them to the side of the Empire, and thereby stave off for a while the claims of the lesser nationalities; and Federation, a complete concession of the nationalist principle. The Emperor chose the former. By the Compromise of 1867 the present Austro-Hungarian dualism was established.

By the Compromise of 1867 Hungary remains an independent Kingdom. The Emperor of Austria is recrowned at Budapest with the crown of St. Stephen, as "Apostolic King" of Hungary. *Austria-Hungary.* The Kingdom of Hungary includes Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Transylvania, and the Military Frontier. The remaining states are under the imperial crown of Austria.

The two states are joined together not only by the personal union through the sovereign, but by a union government, which has charge of affairs common to both states. Such affairs are: foreign relations, the army and navy, and the finances necessary for carrying on these joint establishments. For the management of these common affairs there exists a union ministry, and a union legislature, known as the Delegations. The Delegations consist of two bodies of delegates, chosen respectively from the Austrian and the Hungarian legislatures, sixty members from each. The Delegations meet alternately at Vienna and at Budapest. They sit separately, each deliberating in its own language, and communicate with each other by written messages. They control the expenditure of the common funds, of which Hungary contributes thirty per cent., and Austria the remainder. All other matters are determined by each of the two states for itself in its own legislature.

At the close of the war waged by Russia in 1877 against Turkey, in behalf of the Christian nations of the lower Danube, the Congress of Berlin detached from Turkey the Slavic provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and placed them under the guardianship of Austria-Hungary. The population of the protected

Later events.

provinces consists mainly of Croats and Serbs, in racial sympathy with the Austrian subjects across the border, and their progress since the union has been rapid.

The present trend of politics in Austria-Hungary is a continuance of the race problem. What the Magyars have achieved is eagerly sought for by the Czechs and other races. To concede their claims would be to split the Empire-Kingdom into a dozen federated fragments; an arrangement which would be greatly complicated by the intermixture of races. The force which at present holds together these warring groups is the personal popularity of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Unfortunately for the future, the death by suicide of his only son and heir, Rudolph, has weakened the dynasty, by throwing the succession into a collateral branch, whose members are less popular. Meanwhile in the Austrian legislature the Slavs have crowded the Germans to the wall, creating a dissatisfaction among the Germans, which, in the event of a reorganization of Austria, would impel them toward a union with the German Empire.

SOURCE REVIEW

Warring Races of Austria-Hungary.—Views of an Austrian.—"The Czechs want the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and finally the union with Russia. The Ruthenians, oppressed by the Poles, and differing in language and religion from them, look forward to an incorporation with the Empire of the Tsar. The Poles proclaim secretly, if not openly, the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland. *Italia irredenta** is ever alive in the Trentina and Trieste, no matter how hard the Slavs, officials and police, try to suppress it. The southern Slavs of the coastlands, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, are clamoring for a unification, and their ultimate

* A patriotic society of Italians, who have vowed never to cease their efforts, until all the regions inhabited by Italians, now held by Austria and France, are united with the Kingdom of Italy.

aim is the re-establishment of the old Servian Kingdom, embracing also Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro. The Roumanians wish their annexation by the young and vigorous Kingdom of Roumania; and lastly, not least, the Germans of Bohemia, Austrian Silesia, Lower Austria, Styria and the most advanced and politically educated inhabitants of the Alpine regions desire a union of the German provinces with Germany. Every visitor to Bohemia must notice in the German districts the ostentatious display of the pan-Germanic banner (black, red, gold) instead of the Austrian colors (black, yellow), and that scarcely a peasant hut is without the pictures of the Emperor William and Bismarck; while, on the other hand, in the Czech districts, he will find likenesses of Huss and the Tsar hanging side by side.

“The cement that holds the centrifugal forces loosely together is Emperor Francis Joseph. Although neither a genius, nor a man of initiative, nor a ruler of will and energy, he is liked by the people at large because he is a fairly good and decent man, has tried his best, to be a constitutional ruler, and does no harm wilfully.”

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Alison Phillips : *Modern Europe*, pp. 444-448.

CHAPTER XIV

The Union of Italy

§ 40. EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE UNITY UNAIDED

THE struggle for Italian unity is as old as modern times. Dante and Petrarch, inspired by the glory of ancient Rome, dreamed of a New Italy, rising from the degradation of medieval anarchy. But a different fate was in store for Italy; the land fell into the hands of foreigners, French and Spaniards, and, on the dissolution of the Spanish empire, came under the influence of Austria. The hopes of unity were never so slight as in the eighteenth century, when the peninsula, parceled out into a dozen petty kingdoms and duchies, was dominated by the Austrians.

Napoleon I broke the spell, and paved the way for eventual unity. By the erection of the Cisalpine Republic, afterward the Kingdom of Italy; by the incorporation of the Papal State and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into the territory of France, and by the mild rule of Joseph and of Murat at Naples, he taught the Italians a lesson in democracy and the benefits of good government. More than this, he broke down the prestige of the old governments, which had existed so long that they seemed to be a part of the nature of things. With this he roused a hope of unity, and kindled the fires of Italian patriotism from Milan to Palermo. The Congress of Vienna brought back the old system, but it had lost its sanctity.

Five years after the restoration of Austrian influence and the re-establishment of the "legitimate" sovereigns upon their thrones, Italy burst forth into revolution. The

characteristic of the revolutionary movements of this period is that they were local, independent of one another, and without common head or direction. They were largely incited by the *Carbonari*, a secret society, organized in lodges, after the model of the Freemasons. At Naples in 1820, in Sardinia in 1821, insurrections forced the kings to grant liberal constitutions. In each instance the revolution was quelled by Austrian troops at the behest of the Allies. The Sardinian revolution was accompanied with an event which was important for the future fortunes of Italy. On the side of the conspirators, who were moving for a liberal constitution, was Charles Albert, nephew of the king, popularly supposed to be a member of the *Carbonari*. The king, Victor Emmanuel I, was without direct heirs, and after the king's brother, Charles Felix, an old man and childless, the succession would pass in due order of events to the nephew, Charles Albert of Carignano. His participation in the revolution brought down upon the Prince of Carignano the hatred of the Austrian court. Metternich sought to have him deprived of the right of succession, but the other powers resisted, and he was obliged to expiate his liberalism by joining the French expedition against the Spanish liberals. It is also said Charles Albert promised Metternich that he would never grant a constitution to Sardinia. King Victor Emmanuel I retired in 1821, and at the death of Charles Felix in 1831 the Prince of Carignano came to the throne. The eye of Italy was upon him as the future champion of Italian unity.

In 1830 the Revolution of July in Paris and the accession of Louis Philippe aroused Italian hopes. In the Papal States and in the Duchies of Modena and Parma insurrections took place. But the Italian liberals soon found out that Louis Philippe was not disposed to lend his aid to foreign insurrections, and the insurgents were put down with Austrian bayonets. At Rome the ambassa-



NAPLES, WITH VESUVIUS IN THE BACKGROUND.

dors of the Powers presented a memorandum to Pope Gregory XVI, recommending certain reforms in the administration of the Papal States ; but nothing came of it, and the pope engaged two Swiss regiments for twenty years for the defense of his throne against the liberals.

Up to 1831 the efforts toward Italian unity had been local and under the direction of secret societies. Now the

The Risorgimento. movement entered the domain of literature and political speculation. Various literary works of the time contain the most diverse suggestions for the achievement of Italian unity. Mazzini, a Genoese, proposed the establishment of the Republic of Italy. In 1831 he founded "Young Italy," a secret society, into which were admitted only men of forty years of age and over. Later he enlarged his project and founded "Young Europe," looking to a republicanization of all Europe. Each country was to form its own republic, and all of Europe was to be bound together with ties of fraternity. Mazzini lived much of his life abroad, published much, earning his livelihood by literary work, and directed his movement from France and England.

In contrast with Mazzini the republican, was Gioberti, a priest, who in 1843 inaugurated a pacific movement looking toward unity. He sought the desired result under the papacy, with the papacy as the center of the new Italian state. His book was called "*Moral and Political Headship of Italy.*" Among others who contributed to the discussion through the medium of the press were Count Balbo and the poet d'Azeglio. Thus began the period called the *Risorgimento* (Resurrection), when the idea of united Italy became a sentiment which pervaded the intellectual classes. It was admitted that Italy must rise and throw off the foreign yoke ; but as to the manner and the means there was much difference of opinion. Who should be the head ? How might it be done ? The latter question was solved for the time being by the remark of Charles Albert.

When asked how Italy might carry out her plan for unity, he replied, "*Italia farà de se* (Italy will do it of herself)."

The impulse of the Revolution of February gave Italy an opportunity to try the suggestion of the King of Sardinia. The weakening of the Austrian power seemed to be Italy's opportunity. With the news of the fall of Metternich, Lombardy revolted, and Charles Albert marched at the head of a Sardinian army to the aid of Milan and Venice. But in vain; under the command of Radetzky the Austrian troops were everywhere victorious. At Novara (March 23, 1849) Charles Albert, having sought death in vain in the front of battle, recognizing that Austria would never forgive him his breach of faith, resigned his crown to his son, Victor Emmanuel II, and went into exile, dying a few months later at Lisbon, broken-hearted. The revolution was crushed, and the stern military rule of Austria displaced the hopes of national liberty in Lombardy and Venetia.

At Rome the revolution raged most fiercely. Pope Pius IX, elected in 1846, had been greeted by many as the head of New Italy, heralded by Gioberti. He adopted a most liberal policy, and when in 1848 the revolution broke out, granted a constitution. But the republican elements of Rome swept away the liberal régime of Pius IX, drove the pope from Rome, and established the Roman Republic, under the leadership of Mazzini. Four Catholic powers offered aid to the pope—France, Austria, Spain, and Naples. The Neapolitan troops were repulsed by the republican army of Rome; Spain sent only two ships; Austria occupied Bologna and the northern part of the Papal States. It was left for a French republic, under the presidency of Louis Bonaparte, to escort the pope back to Rome. After a brief resistance, Rome, defended by Garibaldi and his "red-shirts," was taken by French troops (July, 1849), who guarded the papal throne until 1870. Thus Italy had failed in the attempt to achieve unity for herself.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Rome, the True Center of Italian Unity : from Mazzini's Address "To the Young Men of Italy."—"Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart, blushing, whispered the first words of love ; it is the home that God has given you, that by striving to perfect yourselves therein you may prepare to ascend to him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give to it your thoughts, your counsel, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful, as it was foretold by our great men, and see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude ; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God. You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid faculties ; possessing a tradition of glory, the envy of the nations of Europe. An immense future is before you ; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe ; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants—you are bound to be such, or nothing. Let not a man of that twenty-five millions remain excluded from the fraternal bond destined to join you together ; let not a glance be raised to that heaven which is not the glance of a free man. Let Rome be the ark of your redemption, the temple of your nation. Has she not twice been the temple of the destinies of Europe ? In Rome two extinct worlds, the Pagan and the Papal, are superposed, like the jewels of a diadem ; draw from thence a third world, greater than the two ; from Rome, the holy city, the city of love (*Amor*), the purest and wisest among you, elected by the vote and fortified by the inspiration of a whole people, shall dictate the Pact that shall make us one, and represent us in the future alliance of the peoples. Until then you will either have no country, or have her contaminated and profaned."—From *World's Best Orations*.

II. Novara.—"All day long the king courted death, pressing forward where the balls fell like hail and the confusion was at its height, with the answer of despair to the devoted

officers who sought to hold him back : 'Let me die, this is my last day.' But death shuns the seeker. Men fell close beside him, but no charitable ball struck his breast. In the evening he said to his generals : 'We have still 40,000 men, cannot we fall back on Alessandria, and still make an honorable stand?' They told him that it could not be done. Radetsky was asked on what terms he would grant an armistice; he replied : 'The occupation of a large district in Piedmont and the heir to the throne as a hostage.' Then Charles Albert knew what he must do. 'For eighteen years,' he said, 'I have made every effort for the good of the people; I grieve to see that my hopes have failed—not so much for myself as for the country. I have not found death on the field of battle, as I ardently desired; perhaps my person is the only obstacle to obtaining juster terms. I abdicate the crown in favor of my son, Victor Emmanuel.' And turning to the Duke of Savoy he said : 'There is your king.'"—Countess Cesaresco : *The Liberation of Italy*.

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§ 41. UNITY ACHIEVED THROUGH FOREIGN AID

The revolution of 1848 had failed, and Italy found herself once more parceled out and controlled by foreign powers. Something, however, had been learned. It was evident that unity, if achieved, must be won under the leadership of a temporal, and not of a spiritual power. Sardinia, and not Rome, must be the champion of Italian national aspirations.

Fortunately, Sardinia was the one state which preserved her liberties through the storms of 1849. The liberal constitution of 1846, granted by Charles Albert, and preserved by Victor Emmanuel II, secured for Sardinia a parliamentary government, a senate, appointed by the

king, a Chamber of Deputies, elected by the people, and a ministry responsible to the chambers. Sardinia became the only liberally governed state in Italy.

Victor Emmanuel was passionately fond of hunting, and was by taste a military man. Left to himself, it is not likely he could have solved the problem of Italy; but, like William of Prussia, he found a servant greater than himself, who made his reign illustrious. Cavour was educated for the army, discharged for liberalism in 1830, and spent some years traveling in France and Germany. In 1847 he founded a liberal monarchical paper, *Il Risorgimento*, at Turin. During the Revolution of 1848 he was a moderate, and in 1850 was called to the king's ministry. There he evolved the policy that was to lead to the Kingdom of Italy.

Ten years were devoted to the preparation. The resources of Sardinia were strengthened. Cavour sought to revive agriculture and commerce, and added to the royal revenue by secularizing the estates of the regular clergy. At the same time the army, in which the king took great pride, was reorganized after the Prussian model by General La Marmora. Cavour put himself in touch with Italian patriots throughout Italy. These local leaders, defeated in their efforts to achieve independence through their personal efforts, turned to Sardinia and Cavour as the sole remaining means for the redemption of Italy. A secret organization, the "National Union," served to bind together the scattered elements of resistance to Austrian control.

The foreign policy of Cavour was masterful, and marks



VICTOR EMMANUEL II,
KING OF SARDINIA,
1849-1861; KING OF
ITALY, 1861-1878.

him as one of the great diplomats of the nineteenth century. Convinced that Italy could never hope to win her liberty without foreign aid, he sought the friendship of the great liberal powers, England and France. Napoleon III was especially well disposed toward Italian unity, because as a boy, while visiting his father, the ex-King of Holland, in Italy, he had taken, it is said, the oath of the *Carbonari*, and thus allied himself for life with the cause of liberal Italy. In the Crimean War Cavour offered troops to France and England; and although Sardinia drew no territorial advantage from the war, yet she won the fellowship of two great powers, and raised the reputation of Italian troops in the eyes of Europe; and at the Congress of Paris, which established the conditions of peace at the close of the war, Cavour succeeded in bringing the Italian question before the attention of the world.

England refused to intervene, and the fate of Italy depended on the will of Napoleon. Cavour's influence over the Emperor was great, but Napoleon hesitated to involve his Empire in a costly war, from which no great advantage could accrue to France. The attempt of the Italian, Orsini, against the Emperor's life (January 16, 1858), and a letter, in which Orsini told Napoleon that his life was forfeit as a recreant *Carbonaro*, may have turned the scale. Cavour was summoned to an interview at Plombières (July, 1858), and there the conditions of French aid were arranged. Napoleon was to deliver Lombardy and Venetia, and to receive for his reward Savoy and Nice. The warlike preparations of France and Sardinia alarmed Austria; she sent to demand explanations; they were refused, and war was declared.

It was a war of absolutism against the liberal elements of Europe. Against Austria were arrayed, not only France and Sardinia, but all Italian patriots, Freemasons and Republicans. Garibaldi and his volunteers fought beside

The War of
1859-60.

the regular army of Sardinia. The Austrians were defeated at Montebello and Magenta, and driven out of Lombardy ; coming back to the attack they were checked at Solferino (June 24th). All at once Napoleon stopped and began to negotiate for peace ; he dared go no farther. The battles of Magenta and Solferino had set France to counting the cost, and dangerously strengthened the clerical opposition to his Italian policy. Prussia was mobilizing her troops on the French frontier. The Peace of Zürich November 10, 1859, freed Lombardy, which was annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia, but left Venetia in Austrian hands. Cavour, in despair, resigned. Napoleon, although he had not "freed Italy as far as the Adriatic," insisted on his pay, Savoy and Nice. He could not do otherwise ; France was at his back, demanding the price of Magenta and Solferino, the immense loss of men and treasure. But Italy never forgave her liberators for their hard bargain.



GARIBALDI.

The central states came of their own accord to Sardinia ; Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the papal province of Romagna rose against their rulers and annexed themselves to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. The south of Italy was smoldering with revolution, and needed only a spark to set it into flames. Sardinia dared not interfere, lest Europe should interpose a hand ; but Garibaldi, secretly aided by Cavour (who had resumed his post in January, 1860), organized his "Marsala Thousand," and invaded Sicily. Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitan troops at Milazzo, freed Sicily, crossed to the mainland and entered Naples, while King Francis II fled to Gaëta (September 6,

The Kingdom of Italy.

1860). Garibaldi now prepared to march on Rome, and Cavour, seeking to forestall French or Austrian intervention, moved Sardinian troops into the northern provinces of the pope, under pretext of checking the advance of Garibaldi. The pope was reduced to the possession of Rome itself; Garibaldi yielded to Victor Emmanuel and the union of Sicily and Naples with Sardinia was accomplished. The first Italian parliament, meeting at Turin in February, 1861, proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy by the grace of God and the will of the people. The Sardinian liberal Constitution of 1848 was adopted for Italy, and Florence chosen as the capital.



VICTOR EMMANUEL III.

In this manner Italy, under the dynasty of Savoy, by republicans and monarchists, working together, and with the aid of France, was welded into a united state. But Italy was not yet complete. Venetia was still in the hands of Austria, and Rome, the traditional center of Italy, was still lacking to the kingdom. Garibaldi

Completion of
Italy.

sought to make his work complete by adding Rome; but he was checked by the troops of the king at Aspromonte and wounded (August, 1862). It seems pathetic, after his great work for unity, that this should happen; but his judgment was at fault; Rome was the one spot that Italy dare not touch. France and the Catholic powers were pledged to the preservation of the pope's temporal power. In 1866 the Austro-Prussian War gave Venetia to Italy; and finally, in 1870, when the Second Empire fell, France recalled her troops from Rome, and the Italian forces, through a breach in the wall, to signify that Rome was

EUROPE

In 1875

SCALE OF MILES



taken by force, entered the city. The Romans voted for annexation, 130,000 against 1,500. The papacy was deprived of temporal power, and to this day has never recognized the government of Italy. The capital of Italy was established at Rome.

Thus was created the new kingdom of Italy, by Cavour and Garibaldi, aided by Napoleon III. The history of Italy since 1870 has been uneventful. Drifting away from France, she joined the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria. This has involved a heavy burden of expense for the army and navy, which has been a serious drain upon Italy's slender finances. Aspiring to a part in the world's work, Italy sought to establish colonies in East Africa (Erythræa); but her efforts were unsuccessful.

SOURCE REVIEW

I. Count Cavour: His Devotion to Italy.—"Many generals have passed terrible hours on the field of battle; but he passed more terrible ones in his cabinet, when his enormous work might suffer destruction at any moment, like a fragile edifice at the tremor of an earthquake. Hours, nights of struggle and anguish did he pass, sufficient to make him issue from it with reason distorted and death in his heart. And it was this gigantic and stormy work which shortened his life by twenty years. Nevertheless, devoured by the fever which was to cast him into his grave, he yet contended desperately with the malady in order to accomplish something for his country. 'It is strange,' he said sadly on his death-bed, 'I no longer know how to read; I can no longer read.'

"While they were bleeding him, and the fever was increasing, he was thinking of his country, and he said, imperiously: 'Cure me; my mind is clouding over; I have need of all my faculties to manage important affairs.' When he was already reduced to extremities, and the whole city was in a tumult, and the king stood at his bedside, he said, anxiously, 'I have many things to say to you, Sire, many things to show

you ; but I am ill ; I cannot, I cannot ; ' and he was in despair.

"And his feverish thoughts hovered ever round the State, round the new Italian provinces which had been united with us, round the many things which still remained to be done. When delirium seized him, 'Educate the children !' he exclaimed, between his gasps for breath, '—educate the children and the young people—govern with liberty !' "—Edmondo de Amicis : *Cuore*.

II. Garibaldi, the Patriot.—"Garibaldi died last night (June 2, 1881). Do you know who he is? He is the man who liberated ten millions of Italians from the tyranny of the Bourbons. He died at the age of seventy-five. He was born at Nice, the son of a ship captain. At eight years of age he saved a woman's life; at thirteen, he dragged into safety a boatload of his companions who were shipwrecked; at twenty-seven he rescued from the water at Marseilles a drowning youth; at forty-one, he saved a ship from burning on the ocean. He fought for ten years in America for the liberties of a strange people; he fought in three wars against the Austrians, for the liberation of Lombardy and Trentino; he defended Rome from the French in 1849; he delivered Naples and Palermo in 1860; he fought again for Rome in 1867; he combated with the Germans in defense of France in 1870. He was possessed of the flame of heroism and the genius of war. He was engaged in forty battles, and won thirty-seven of them.

"When he was not fighting, he was laboring for his living, or he shut himself up in a solitary island, and tilled the soil. He was teacher, sailor, workman, trader, soldier, general, dictator. He was simple, great, and good. He hated all oppressors, he loved all peoples, he protected all the weak; he had no other aspiration than good, he refused honors, he scorned death, he adored Italy. When he uttered his war-cry, legions of valorous men hastened to him from all quarters; gentlemen left their palaces, workmen their ships, youths their schools, to go and fight in the sunshine of his glory. In time of war he wore a red shirt. He was strong, blond, and handsome. On the field of battle he was a thunderbolt, in his affections he was a child, in affliction a saint.

Thousands of Italians have died for their country, happy, if, when dying, they saw him pass victorious in the distance; thousands would have allowed themselves to be killed for him; millions have blessed him and will bless him."—*Cuore*.

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Alison Phillips: *Modern Europe*, pp. 356–484 passim.

CHAPTER XV

Russia and the Eastern Question

§ 42. THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE FROM 1814

THE Russian Empire in Europe was already in its present form in 1814, and was by far the largest of the European states. It had come to be a factor in the political life of Europe at this time, although its internal history scarcely reflects the great political and social changes that were going on in Europe. It is the policy of Russia toward the other powers with which it has come in contact that constitutes the important part of Russian history in the nineteenth century.

Russia is also a conglomeration of peoples; but, unlike Austria, Russia controls her subject nations, and is not controlled by them. This is due to the fact that Russia contains so large a nucleus of Muscovite Slavs, who are the dominant race, and their supremacy has been sustained by the absolutism of their Tsars. Instead of yielding to racial decentralization, as Austria has been obliged to do, Russia has pursued a rigid policy of Russianization, against the Germans of the Baltic provinces, the Lithuanians and Poles of the West, the Cossacks and Asiatic tribes of the South, and, last of all, the Finns of the North. Each one of these non-Muscovite elements is too small to offer serious resistance, and too isolated from other subject nationalities to effect a union for defense.

Alexander I was the most liberal of the Tsars. This he owed to his education, which was superintended by



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

Laharpe, a liberal of the French school. When Napoleon I had been defeated, and the allies assembled at Paris to divide the spoils, it was the influence of Alexander I. that saved France from the fury of the English and Germans, and secured for her the liberal Charter of 1814. Later, at the Congress of Vienna, Alexander disclosed his cherished hope, to solve with general satisfaction the Polish problem. He wished to acquire the whole of ancient Poland; then grant to the Poles a separate constitution, making the crown of Poland distinct and separate from the imperial Russian crown. His effort to acquire Prussian Poland was thwarted by Talleyrand; but Alexander carried out his Polish policy in the Polish provinces of Russia, and the Kingdom of Poland was re-established in 1815, with a constitution, securing to the Poles a native administration, with a partially elective legislature; a greater degree of political liberty than was possessed at that time by any other people in central Europe.

The system, however, did not become popular in Poland. Secret societies, copied from the *Carbonari*, even plotted against the Tsar's life. Alexander became discouraged with his experiments in liberalism, and after 1818 became converted to the views of Metternich. A religious mysticism veiled the closing years of his life, and he died in 1825 on the coast of the Black Sea, conscious of the failure of his early hopes. His younger brother, Nicholas, who succeeded to the throne, put down the Poles with an iron hand, abolished the Charter of 1815, and gave Poland a Russian governor. "Poland shall henceforth be a part of the Empire," he said, "and form one nation with Russia."

Nicholas had none of the sympathy with liberalism which formed so large a part of his brother's character. He abhorred constitutions and hated western ideas. His policy was to shut out Russia from the west, which was,

perhaps, the better policy for Russia. Up to this time Russian life had been an Asiatic travesty of western European ideas and customs ; the policy of Nicholas I. called forth a Russian literature and national sentiment, and promised Russia an indigenous development. Although Nicholas withdrew Russia from the leadership of Metternich, yet he had no sympathy with revolutions. When the Hungarians were struggling against Austria in 1849, it was with willingness that Nicholas sent a Russian army to crush them.

In 1848 Nicholas, confident of the strength of his army, thought the time had arrived for the conquest of the Ottoman Empire. He looked upon Turkey as already in the throes of dissolution. To the English ambassador he suggested in 1852 that, as the " Sick Man " at Constantinople was about to die, England and Russia " ought to agree about the funeral." Finding an opportunity for intervention in the quarrels of Roman and Greek monks about the Holy Sepulchre, Nicholas advanced his army into Turkey, coming as the protector of the Orthodox (Greek) Church. To his surprise he had to meet the combined armies of England, France, and Sardinia, which were prepared to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The war was carried into the Crimea (1854), and Nicholas, defeated by the western powers he affected to despise, died broken-hearted.

Alexander II. Alexander, son of Nicholas, reversed his father's restrictive policy, and entered upon a career of reform. The great act of his reign was the abolition of serfdom. The peasants, bound by law to the soil, paid dues to the proprietor of the land, labored in his fields, and obeyed him as their master. There were forty-six millions of the unfree, half of them on crown lands. By the Emancipation act of 1861 all serfs were freed. They were given parcels of land, on payment of an annual rental, and at any time they might become proprietors of the land

by the payment of a fixed sum. The government stood ready to advance the purchase money, to be repaid in installments. In addition to the emancipation of serfs, Alexander introduced other reforms: local assemblies (*Zemstvos*), public schools after the western model, and a reorganization of the army on the Prussian plan.



ALEXANDER II, LIBERATOR OF THE SERFS.

But a constitution Alexander would not grant; and with the growth of political discussion which his reign permitted, there rose up against him a great secret association of terrorists, recruited largely from the student class, whose object was the destruction

of the absolutist system. Persecuted by the secret police, the "Nihilists" resolved upon the death of the Tsar, and, after three unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in March, 1881. His son, Alexander III, turned by this event from the reform policy of his father, restored the despotism of Nicholas I. The press was muzzled, the land filled with spies, and Siberia became the fate of suspected persons. The policy of Russianization was continued by Alexander III, and the aim of the Empire to-day is to make the Russian language and the Russian church sole and supreme throughout the land. For this reason the Jews have been persecuted, and the condition of their residence in Russia made intolerable. The Grand



NICHOLAS II.

Duchy of Finland was the last country to be Russianized. Unmindful of his coronation oath, the Tsar, who had sworn to preserve the constitutional liberty of the Grand Duchy, began there also the policy of Russianization. Nicholas II, who succeeded Alexander III in 1894, continues the policy of the first Nicholas. Russia stands in much the same position as France in 1789, in respect to her political and economic problems ; with a population, however, much less enlightened and advanced. Her modern period is yet to come, and her rulers hope, by excluding western influences, and keeping Russia close in the fold of the Orthodox Church, to direct her development along a path which shall avoid those pitfalls into which, in their estimation, western Europe has stumbled.

SELECT READING

Russian Students as Revolutionists.—Of late years Russian university students have been prominent in the reports of political and socialistic agitation. The government has been obliged at times to close the universities on this account. The following extract attempts to account for this phenomenon : “ For some time past the disturbed condition of the student world, especially in the universities and theological seminaries, has caused the government no little anxiety. For several reasons the Russian students of both sexes are far more inclined to revolutionary ideas than those of almost any other European nation. Conscious of the backwardness of their own country, the susceptible nature of the Slav leads the younger generation to seek a remedy for this reproach by adopting what they believe to be the very latest and most advanced theories of modern civilization. Besides this, a large proportion of the students are in a state of poverty, almost of destitution, which renders them yet more disposed to give free play to their imaginations, and build up society anew upon a system in which hunger and cold and suffering shall be abolished forever.

“ When the universities were thrown open to all classes of

society a vast number of scholarships were founded for the support of indigent students. The Emperor Alexander II gave half a million rubles to the university of St. Petersburg for this purpose, and his example was at once followed by an immense number of private persons. As a result of this well-meant munificence nearly two-thirds of the students in the universities are now dependent upon Government or private subsidies, but these are generally so small in amount as hardly to suffice for even the barest necessities of life. Quite recently, in several of the universities, many of the students were unable to leave their lodgings to attend the classes for weeks at a time, as in their ill-clad and shoeless condition they dared not face the cold of a Russian winter. Male and female students crowd together in the cheapest lodgings that they can find, while their families, generally living far away in some remote corner of rural Russia, are unable to exercise any wholesome influence to counteract the atmosphere of discontent and suffering and wild dreams of a 'Social Reformation' that their condition almost necessarily creates around them. It is hardly surprising that in the days of Nihilism nearly all the revolutionists condemned for political offenses had received 'superior instruction' and only one per cent were illiterate."

—Palmer : *Russian Life in Town and Country*.

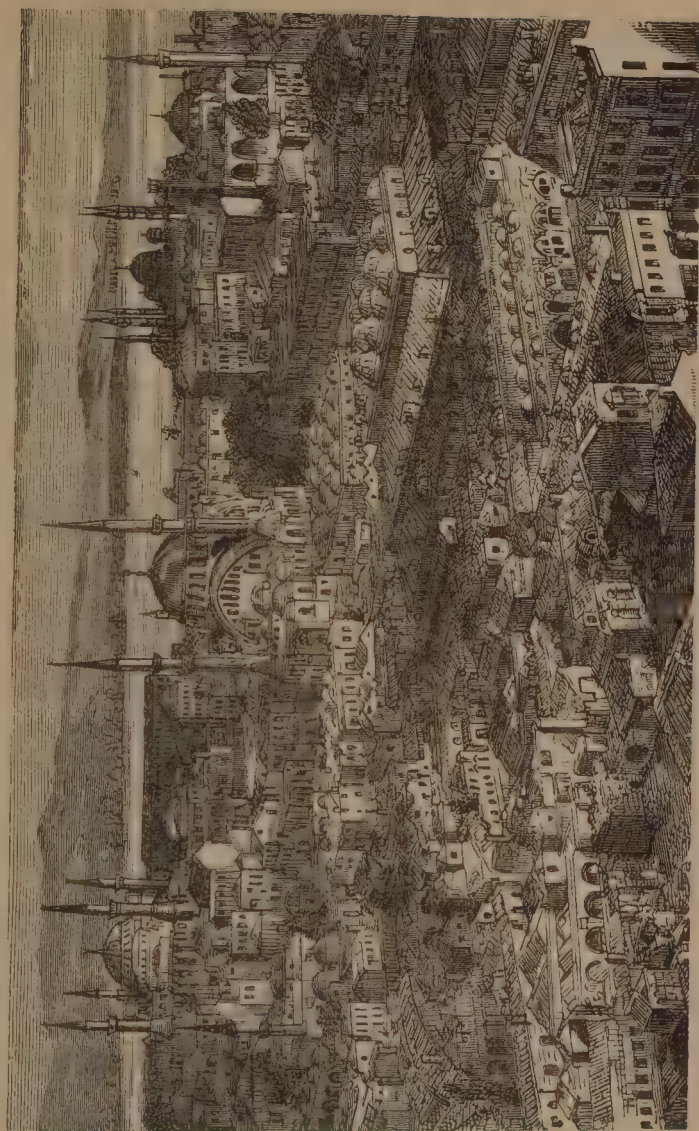
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§ 43. THE EASTERN QUESTION

The Ottoman Empire, founded at the close of the Middle Ages by a Turkish dynasty, retained in 1814 an immense territory. In Asia there was Asia Minor, Syria, the Euphrates country up to Persia, and the suzerainty of Arabia ; in Africa, Egypt and the northern coast of Africa to Morocco ; in Europe, the whole of the Balkan peninsula, and north of the Danube the principalities of Moldavia and

The Ottoman
Empire.



GENERAL VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Wallachia. The empire, however, although vast, verged on ruin. The task of the Turk in Europe was impossible. An arbitrary government, without method in administration, seeking its law, religious, civil, and political, in the Koran, its existence was based upon the ignorance of its subject peoples. Intelligence and the knowledge of liberty, as it progressed across Central Europe, was certain to bring about the dismemberment of Turkey.

Whoever became a Mussulman, no matter what his origin—Greek, Croat, or Albanian—became a Turk, and was entitled to all the privileges of the original founders of the empire. The Koran permitted no inequality amongst believers. Society in the Ottoman Empire was divided, therefore, into two great classes, Mussulmans and *raias*, as the subject Christian peoples were called. All offices of whatever class, civil or military, were held by Mussulmans; the *raias* retained their languages, their customs, their clergy, and their village administration; they paid a special head-tax, due from infidels, and were at the mercy of the unsalaried, rapacious officials of the Sultan.

In Asia the *raias* were relatively few and scattered—Greeks, Jews, and Armenians; but in Europe the Turks were in the minority, holding by force great groups of conquered peoples. North of the Danube were the Roumanians, occupying the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, governed by Greek governors appointed by the Sultan. South of the great river were the Serbs, a race of peasants with Turkish lords; farther to the south and west the Bosniaks and Albanians, partly Christian, partly of the Moslem faith; and on the east, occupying both slopes of the Balkan Mountains, the Bulgarians, in the three provinces, Bulgaria, Roumelia, and part of Macedonia. South of the Bulgarians were the Greeks, inhabiting the extremity of the peninsula and the adjacent islands.

The position of the Sultan was that of a stranger in Europe—a conqueror encamped on the shores of the Bosphorus. When the Christian sovereigns of Europe came together to discuss and arrange matters of importance to all Europe, the Sultan did not form one of the council. At the Congress of Vienna, Turkey first came into the field of general European politics. Austria, extending the policy of Metternich to all Europe, asked the Congress to guarantee to the Sultan the integrity of his possessions. This Russia refused to do; but since all the Powers were more or less interested in the fate of Turkey, it was agreed that all must be consulted in the disposition of her affairs. Thus the Eastern Question was born, in 1815. The “Question” was this: Should the Turkish Empire be preserved intact; or, if dismembered, what disposition should be made of its territories? But the rivalry of the states kept the Turkish power erect in Europe. The policy of Russia was to push southward, and seek an outlet in the Mediterranean; the policy of the other Powers was to prevent her, and to preserve the “balance of power” in Europe. England in particular feared the extension of Russia to the southward, as threatening her possessions in India.

But while the European concert tended to protect the Turk in Europe, his power was threatened from another source. Up to 1821 the danger was from without; later it came from within. The awakening of a sense of national consciousness in Greece led to revolt, and the Greek insurgents appealed to the Christian states for aid against the Turk. Metternich sought to restrain the Russian Tsar, while Turkish soldiers massacred the inhabitants of the Greek Isles, and the Sultan hanged the Greek Patriarch, with three archbishops, in the doorway of their church. But liberal Europe was particularly attracted to the cause of the descendants of the ancient Greeks; Philhellenic socie-

The Eastern Question.

Beginning of dismemberment.

ties were formed, and step by step statesmen were brought around by the force of public opinion. England joined with Russia in negotiations with the Porte for the independence of the Greeks. This the Sultan refused, and the two powers, allying with them France, proceeded to intervene; a Russian army forced the Porte to terms, and Greece



THE TURKISH EMPIRE IN EUROPE.

was made free. Thus through the force of public sentiment the concert of the powers was overthrown and the integrity of Turkey violated.

In 1852 the question rose again, when Nicholas sought to settle the affairs of the "Sick Man of Europe." The Congress of Paris, which followed the defeat of Russia

in the Crimea, defended the Turkish Empire against the further spoliation, closed the Black Sea to ships of war, declared the Danube a neutral river, and guaranteed again the integrity of Turkey. In return, the Sultan promised reforms and a mild government for his Christian subjects. But it was in vain; it was impossible for the Turks to look upon the Christians as their equals before the law. "The doctrine of the Koran draws an indelible line between Turks and Christians; equality before the law will remain a dream in Turkey." This project of the Powers, however sincerely entertained, was no solution of the problem; that was to come in the dismemberment of the empire, and the political separation of the Christians from the Mussulmans.

Twenty years later events occurred which made the policy of the Powers untenable. In 1876, while the insurgent mountaineers of Herzegovina were holding the attention of the Turkish army, the Bulgarians rose in arms and declared themselves independent. The Sultan sent against them the *Bashi-bazouks*, irregular volunteers, serving for the opportunity of plunder, who destroyed a hundred villages, massacred 30,000 inhabitants, and carried off 12,000 women into slavery. The "Bulgarian Atrocities" aroused the indignation of Europe; the Powers dared no longer attempt the defense of the Turkish Empire. Servia entered the war in July and Russia followed with the invasion of Turkey in the name of the persecuted Christians. The Turks fought with valor, but were overcome, and Constantinople lay in the grasp of Russia (Peace of San Stefano, March 3, 1878). Here the Powers intervened, however, and the Congress of Berlin (June 13-July 13, 1878) arranged the final conditions of peace. The Sultan recognized the complete independence of the Christian states of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro. Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Balkans, was erected into a

The break-up of
the empire.

Christian principality, subject to Turkish suzerainty. Of the other Bulgarian states Roumelia was to be allowed a certain amount of self-government, enough to make the condition of her Christian population tolerable, with a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan. Greece was given Thessaly, and Austria was invited to occupy the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The introduction of Austria into the Balkan Peninsula was intended as a check to Russian influence. Russia, as the material reward of her victory, received an addition to her Asiatic territory on the south shore of the Black Sea; while England, as protector of Turkey, received the gift of Cyprus.



ABDUL HAMID, SULTAN
OF TURKEY.

Thus Turkey in Europe was almost wholly torn from the Sultan's grasp. There remained to him the Mussulman lands of Albania and the province of Constantinople; of Christian subjects, the Bulgarian and other Christian nationalities of Macedonia, and the Greeks of the province of Salonika. The Christian countries of the Turkish Empire in Europe have become independent states, as before the Ottoman conquest; and the Eastern Question is in a fair way to solve itself, in spite of the diplomats of Europe.

SOURCE REVIEW

Synopsis of the Treaty of Berlin.—“(1) Bosnia, including Herzegovina, was assigned to Austria for permanent occupation. Thus Turkey lost a great province of nearly 1,250,000 inhabitants. Of these about 500,000 were Christians of the Greek Church, 450,000 were Mohammedans, mainly in the towns, who offered a stout resistance to the Austrian troops, and 250,000 Roman Catholics. By the occupation of the Novi



GENERAL VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS AT THE PRESENT DAY.
(From a recent photograph.)

Bazar district Austria wedged in her forces between Montenegro and Servia, and was also able to keep watch over the turbulent province of Macedonia. (2) Montenegro received less than the San Stephano terms had promised her, but received the seaports of Antivari and Dulcigno. It needed a demonstration of the European fleets off the latter port to make the Turks yield Dulcigno to the Montenegrins (who alone of all the Christian races of the peninsula had never been conquered by the Turks). (3) Servia was proclaimed an independent principality (became a kingdom in 1881). (4) Roumania also gained her independence and ceased to pay any tribute to the Porte, but had to give to her Russian benefactors the slice acquired from Russia in 1856 between the Pruth and the northern mouth of the Danube. In return for this sacrifice she gained the large but marshy Dorbrudscha district from Bulgaria, and so acquired the port of Kustendje on the Black Sea. (5) Bulgaria, which according to the San Stephano terms, would have been an independent state as large as Roumania, was by the Berlin Treaty subjected to the suzerainty of the Sultan, divided into two parts, and confined within much narrower limits. Turkey was allowed to occupy the passes of the Balkans in time of war." J. H. Rose : *A Century of Continental History*.

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§ 44. GREECE

The ancient Greek nation, overrun by Slavs and Albanians during the Middle Ages, fell into the hands of the Turks and shared the general fate of the Balkan Christians. Under the dominion of the Turks the Slavs and Albanians dwelling in Greece were Hellenized, and little by little there was formed a hybrid nation, speaking the Greek tongue and occupying the territories of ancient Greece. Outside of Greece men of Greek extraction were scattered through the Turkish

Under Turkish rule.

Empire ; in Constantinople they occupied a quarter of the city, called the Phanar, whence they received the name of "Phanariots." A sharp, shrewd race, equal to the Jews as traders, they largely controlled the commerce of the Danube, and were found in the ports of the Adriatic and even as far west as Leghorn and Marseilles.

During the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars Greek sailors, under the neutral Turkish flag, drove a thriving trade in the Mediterranean, carrying Russian grain from Odessa to the ports of western Europe. In 1816 they possessed a fleet of 600 vessels with 17,000 sailors. These Greek sailors inhabited three barren rocks, called the Nautical Isles—Hydra, Spezzia, and Psara—facing the Gulf of Argolis. There they lived in three little republics, tributary to the Sultan. Their vessels were armed with cannon, for defense against the Barbary pirates. The general peace of 1814 put an end to their trade and made them ready for adventure of any sort. On the mainland bands of mountaineers, half brigands, lived in defiance of the Turkish authorities.

The contact with western nations roused the national spirit of the Greeks. Merchants, grown rich in trade, established schools at Bucharest, Corfu, and Constantinople. The Greek language, debased with foreign elements, began to be studied in its classical form, and a consciousness of the ancient grandeur of their race spurred the educated Greeks toward a resurrection of their national life. The revolt against Turkish rule took place at the same time in the Morea, in Epirus, and among the Danubian Greeks of Roumania. In the north the insurgents were soon suppressed, but in the Morea they were more successful, and drove out the Turks. A brutal war ensued, which lasted for four years. To make matters worse, the Greek revolutionists quarreled among themselves, and civil war was added to the horrors of Turkish invasion. At length, in 1825, the Sultan called

Struggle for
independence,
1821-1829.

upon his vassal, Ibrahim Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, for aid. Two armies invaded Greece: a Turkish army from the north, while troops from the Egyptian fleet landed in the south and devastated the Morea with fire and sword, until Greece was again in Turkish hands.

But the Powers came to the rescue. England and France, driven by the force of public opinion, joined with Russia, whose motive was to rescue her brethren of the Greek Church from the hands of the infidels. The Powers projected a naval demonstration to compel Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw. A mixed fleet under the command of an English admiral took possession of the harbor of Navarino, where the Egyptian fleet was at anchor. The bitter feeling between Christian and Mohammedan sailors led to hostilities which were not intended; a shot from an Egyptian gunboat brought about the battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827), in which the Egyptian fleet was destroyed. The Sultan demanded an indemnity, which was refused; and after fruitless negotiations an English fleet, threatening Constantinople, secured the recall of Ibrahim Pasha, while France sent an army into the Morea. Russia moved southward across the Danube, and, defeating the Turks in Bulgaria, approached Constantinople. The peace of Adrianople (1829) granted the independence of Greece within narrow limits, stripped of Thessaly and Crete, a poverty-stricken state of 750,000 souls.

Capodistrias, a Greek, who had been in the Russian service, was chosen President in 1827. He fell a victim to local jealousies and was murdered four years later.

Kingdom of Greece. Meanwhile the Powers had been seeking a foreign king for Greece. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who subsequently became King of Belgium, refused the honor. In 1832 Prince Otto, of Bavaria, was chosen king. He brought with him Bavarian advisers, and put the army into German uniform. As a Catholic and a German he failed to make himself popular with his new subjects, but succeeded fairly

well in organizing the government and introducing institutions of western Europe, such as the University of Athens in 1836, and a national bank in 1841. In 1843 the Greek soldiers rose against the king, a National Assembly was called, and the king was compelled to accept a constitution, with a ministry responsible to a Chamber of Deputies chosen by universal suffrage. But Otto continued unpopular, and a revolution in 1862 drove him from the throne. Prince George of Denmark, the English candidate, was chosen king in the following year, and England turned over to Greece the Ionian Islands, held by England since the Congress of Vienna.

The Constitution of 1864 abolished the Senate established by the Constitution of 1843, and gave

Modern Greece.

the whole parliamentary power to the *Boulé* or National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage. Since then the history of Greece has largely consisted of repeated attempts to add to the Greek kingdom those parts of Turkey which are Greek in population. Through the good offices

of France and England, Thessaly and a part of Epirus were added in 1881, a delayed result of the rearrangement of the Turkish Empire by the Treaty of Berlin. The Greeks were yet unsatisfied. The island of Crete revolted against Turkish dominion in 1896, but its union with Greece was prevented by the Powers. In 1897 Greece declared war against Turkey, and was defeated by the Turkish army, which had been reorganized under the direction of military experts loaned by the Emperor of Germany.

Greece has been made possible by the sympathy of Europe, and the ancient traditions of her name. The



GEORGE I. OF GREECE.

enthusiasm which accompanied her resurrection has been only partially justified by her progress as a nation. Her extension northward is checked by the growth of the Slavic states, Servia and Bulgaria, and by the entrance of Austria into the Balkan peninsula. But Greece is growing in wealth, and her population includes 2,200,000 out of a total eight millions of Greek-speaking people.

SELECT READING

Execution of the Patriarch: An Episode of the Greek Revolution (see § 43).—"While the new patriarch was assuming the insignia of his official rank the deposed patriarch was led to execution. He was hung from the lintel of the gate of the patriarchate, with a *fetva*, or sentence of condemnation, pinned to his breast.¹ The old man met death with dignified courage and pious resignation. His conscience was at ease, for he believed that he had fulfilled his duty as a Christian priest by concealing from an infidel sovereign the existence of an orthodox conspiracy, of which he may have obtained detailed information only in the confessional. In the evening the grand-vizier, Benderli Ali, walked through the streets of the Phanar, attended by a single *tchaous*. On reaching the gate of the patriarchate, he called for a stool, and sat down for a few moments, looking calmly at the body hanging before him. He then rose and walked away without uttering a word. Ottoman justice is deeply imbued with the principle that men in high office are hostages to the Sultan for order in his dominions and that they ought to expiate crimes of the people which are attributable to their neglect.

"The body of Gregorios remained publicly exposed for three days. It was then delivered to the Jews to be dragged through the streets and cast into the sea. This odious task is rendered a source of horrid gratification to the Jew-

¹The patriarch (head of the Greek Church) was accused of concealing knowledge of the plots of Greek revolutionists. It was held that as official of the Sultan (by whom he was appointed) he was in duty bound to disclose such knowledge to the Turkish authorities.



VIEW IN FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN.

ish rabble at Constantinople, by the intense hatred which prevails between the Greeks and the Jews throughout the East. The orthodox, who regarded Gregorios as a martyr, watched the body, and at night it was taken out of the water and conveyed in an Ionian vessel to Odessa, where the Russian authorities welcomed it as a holy relic, which the waters had miraculously cast up to strengthen the faith, perhaps to animate the bigotry, of the Sultan's enemies. The body was interred with magnificent ecclesiastical ceremonies and much military pomp."—Finlay : *History of Greece*.

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§ 45. THE DANUBIAN STATES

Of the Danubian states which formed at one time a part of the Turkish Empire, Roumania was least affected

by Ottoman dominion, on account of her
Roumania.

remoteness from the center of Turkish power. Modern Roumania is made up of two states which formerly existed as the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, tributary to the Porte. Wallachia lay between the Danube and the Carpathians; Moldavia between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were governed by *Hospodars*, governors selected by the Sultan from the *Phanariots* of Constantinople. In 1834, through the intervention of Russia, they were permitted to choose their own *Hospodars*.

The Roumanians, as their name implies, are traditionally of Roman origin. They claim to be descended from the colonists settled by the Roman Emperor Trajan upon the Danube. Their speech is a Romance tongue, related to French, Spanish, and Italian; in religion they are adherents of the Orthodox church. The population in 1834 consisted of peasants, who tilled the plains, and land-own-

ing nobles, who lived in the cities, Bucharest and Jassy. The peasants were abject serfs; the nobles, influenced by their supposed common origin with the French, imitated in a rude way the customs of Paris.

The Treaty of Paris (1856), which terminated the Crimean War, placed the principalities under the protection of the Powers. Their union, which was forbidden by the Sultan, was effected in 1859, when a Moldavian noble, Couza, elected *Hospodar* in both principalities, took the title of Alexander I, "Prince of Roumania," and called a National Assembly at Bucharest, the capital. The servile peasantry were made proprietors in 1864, buying the interest of the nobles in their holdings by means of fifteen annual instalments.

Alexander was the victim of local jealousies, and was forced to resign in 1866. Con-

A foreign king.

vinced that the nobles would never endure the rule of a native prince, the Roumanians chose a Catholic German prince, Charles of Hohenzollern, who came to the throne as Charles I, and still reigns. Under his able constitutional rule the kingdom has prospered. The army was reorganized after the German model, and co-operated with the Russians against the Turks in the war of 1877-78. The war made Roumania a sovereign state, obtaining from the Sultan a formal recognition of her independence. Charles took the title of king in 1881.

The problem of Roumania, apart from her industrial development, is to extend her borders to include the whole of the Roumanian nation. Apart from the subjects of



CHARLES I, KING OF
ROUMANIA.

King Charles, there are over three millions of Roumanians in adjacent states, of whom two millions and a half are in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Servia is called the "Peasant Nation." Its ancient native aristocracy was lost in the conquest by the Turks, and replaced with Mussulmans, who settled as conquerors in the country. The industry of Servia was swine-raising, and such prominent individuals as there were among the native Serbs at the beginning of the nineteenth century had arrived at distinction through success in this industry. The two families about which the history of Servia revolves were of this character: the Karageorgewitches, taking their origin from Kara Georges (Black George), a heroic leader of the Serbs against the Turks in the early years of the century; and the Obrenowitches, who furnished the first modern prince of Servia.

Kara Georges, worsted by the Turks, fled to Austria. His rival, Milosh Obrenowitch, pursued a different policy, bowing to Turkish authority, and received from Constantinople the title of "Prince of the Serbs of the Pashalik of Belgrade." In 1830 he was made hereditary prince, and the Turkish garrisons removed from Servia. Thus Servia was formed, as yet a dependency of Turkey, but self-governing. Meanwhile Milosh had murdered his rival, Kara Georges, who returned from Austria in 1818. In 1837 Russia and the Sultan, listening to complaints of Milosh's absolutism, imposed upon him a ministry, who asked him for an accounting of the national funds, whereupon he abdicated in favor of his son, angry at such questioning of his authority. Three years later a revolt drove the Obrenowitches from the throne, and seated there a son of Kara Georges, Alexander. He in turn was driven out in 1859, and the Obrenowitches returned to power. These rapid changes of dynasty reflect the intrigues of the two great powers, Russia and Austria, each seeking to make good its

influence in Servia. In 1868 Milan Obrenowitch, educated at Paris, came to the throne, and in the following year a constitution was adopted, and an attempt made to introduce a western form of government. The *Skouptchina*, an ancient assembly of heads of families, was made into an elective parliament.

In 1876, excited by the revolt of Christians in Herzegovina, Servia declared war against Turkey. Conquered and overrun, she was saved by European intervention; but during the Russian invasion of Turkey in 1877 Servia reopened the war. The



PETER I, KING OF
SERVIA.

Peace of Berlin gave her greater territory and complete independence; but the establishment of Austria in Herzegovina was a severe blow to the national aspiration, since it cut her off from the hope of a larger Serbian union. She saw a chance for Serbian expansion on the south. There Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, each looking to the establishment of a great Balkan state, were intriguing to secure a paramount influence in the mixed provinces of Roumelia and Macedonia, still sub-

ject to Constantinople. When Roumelia chose for its governor the Prince of Bulgaria, thereby effecting a union with Bulgaria, Servia rushed into war. She was completely beaten, and was happy when Europe intervened to stop the victorious Bulgarians. Thus for a time her schemes for a greater Servia were checked. Milan abdicated in 1889, and his son Alexander I, after a weak and vacillating reign, was assassinated June 11, 1903, by the military party, and Peter I, a Karageorgewitch, placed upon the throne.

The Montenegrins are the Swiss of the Balkans. A

democracy of warriors, of Serbian blood, although nominally subject to Turkey, they were governed by a family, succeeding from uncle to nephew, under the title of Prince-Bishop (*Vladika*). In 1851 Danilo dropped the episcopal title, married, and founded a dynasty. He was succeeded by his nephew, Nikita. Montenegro has been in continual struggle with the Turks, looking to Russia as her protector. In 1878 her territory was made independent, and a seaport added on the Adriatic (Dulcigno). The sovereign is absolute, with a Council of State, half appointed by himself, half elective. A daughter of the Prince is now Queen of Italy.

The principality of Bulgaria was created by Russia, and accepted by the Congress of Berlin. As contemplated by Russia, it comprised Bulgaria and Roumelia, almost wholly peopled by Bulgarians, and Macedonia, a mixture of Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, and Wallachians (Roumanians). The Congress of Berlin cut it down to Bulgaria, which remained tributary to the Porte, with a prince, elected by the people and approved by the Sultan. Alexander of Battenberg, a German prince, was chosen. The constitution established a ministry and a single assembly, the *Sobranje*, elected by universal suffrage.

In 1885 Roumelia, desiring union with Bulgaria, revolted against its Turkish governor, and called for aid upon Prince Alexander. The Prince could not resist the desire of his subjects, took the title of "Prince of the Two Bulgarias," and occupied the province. The Powers protested, and Servia went to war. The Turkish Government finally accepted a compromise, and Alexander was appointed governor of Roumelia. In 1887 Alexander, refusing to submit his policy to Russian control, was surprised by conspirators, forced to resign, and hurried out of the country. In the absence of a prince, Stambouloff, president of the *Sobranje* (Bulgarian legislature), governed

the country. It was not an easy matter to find a prince ; but finally Ferdinand of Coburg, an officer in the Hungarian army, accepted the title, and was recognized by the Sultan. The agitation for the union of Macedonia is now the sensitive point of Bulgarian politics.

SOURCE REVIEW

"Carmen Sylva," Queen of Roumania.—"Prince Charles had occupied the Hospodarial throne of the United Principalities for a little more than three years and a half before he sought and obtained the hand of one of the most highly gifted and accomplished young ladies in Europe, the Princess Elizabeth of Wied. From the date of her arrival in the country of her adoption, Princess Elizabeth addressed herself to the difficult task of winning the hearts of her subjects, instinctively averse to and suspicious of foreign-born persons. She devoted several months of unremitting labor to the study of the Roumanian language, literature, legendary lore, and music. She and all the ladies of her court (at her instance) wore the national costume, setting an example of reaction against Paris fashions and extravagance which the great Boyarins could not but follow. She founded charitable institutions in the principal towns of both Principalities, reorganized the public hospitals, and was an unwearied visitor of the poor. She translated ballads, fables, and love-songs, and published them under the pseudonym of 'Carmen Sylva,' thus spreading the fame of Roumania's cherished bards far and wide throughout civilized Europe. Her gentle manners, engaging appearance, sweet disposition, and, above all, inexhaustible interest in the history, traditions, and customs of Roumania, rapidly effected the conquest of Trajan's rugged but warm-hearted descendants, and before she had been a year on the throne, '*Marea Sa*' (her Highness) had attained the summit of her ambition, an unexampled popularity in her brave and sagacious husband's realm."—Condensed from W. Beatty-Kingston : *Monarchs I Have Met*.

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CHAPTER XVI

The Smaller States

§ 46. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

WHILE the Spaniards were waging their war of liberation against Napoleon I, and their king, Ferdinand VII, was a prisoner in France, a liberal movement, stimulated by contact with French and English, took place in the peninsula. A Cortes, or National Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage, came together in 1811, and proclaiming the doctrine of the French Revolution that "Sovereignty is vested essentially in the nation," drew up the Constitution of 1812, a charter not unlike the French constitution of 1791. It vested the executive power in the king, and provided for a Cortes of a single chamber, elected by universal suffrage. Thus the Spaniards, although jealously repulsing French control, had ended by accepting the principles of the French Revolution.

The English army brought back the king. Once seated on the throne, he gave free rein to his Bourbon instincts, abolished the Constitution of 1812, condemned to prison or to exile the liberal leaders, and restored the old system, with its absolutism, privilege of nobles, Inquisition and all. But the government was embarrassed on all sides; the country was impoverished with war, its debt increased, and armies were necessary to subdue the American colonies, which had risen in revolt. A military expedition was prepared against Buenos Ayres and lay for three years at Cadiz, awaiting ships to carry it to America.

The general dissatisfaction found expression in 1820.



THE ROYAL PALACE AT MADRID.

The army at Cadiz, idle and unpaid, led the revolt, and was followed by the liberal sympathizers in the cities. A *Junta*, or insurrectionary committee was formed, which proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. The king, alarmed and stripped of military support, yielded, and expressed his readiness to accept the charter. A Cortes was elected, and for three years Spain lived under a constitutional monarchy.

Revolution of
1820.

But the Powers of the Congress of Vienna were not disposed to permit so grave a disturbance of their labors. In 1823 a French army, commissioned by the Powers, crossed the Pyrenees and restored the absolute monarchy. Persecutions followed, liberals and Freemasons were executed, liberal and foreign books were forbidden; students of the universities were obliged to swear not to recognize the sovereignty of the people, nor to join secret societies.

Ferdinand had two children, both of them girls. The Salic law, introduced with the Bourbons from France (1713), forbade succession through the female line, and by law the crown would pass to the king's brother, Carlos. Ferdinand, however, wishing to preserve the crown for his daughter, Isabella, published an edict restoring the old Spanish order of female succession. Carlos protested, and on the death of the king in 1833, Spain was divided into two parties, devoted respectively to the claims of Carlos and of Isabella. England and France supported Isabella; the absolute governments, the claims of the pretender, Carlos.

The Carlist
trouble.

The government of the Queen Regent, Christina (for Isabella was an infant), sought liberal support, and granted a constitution similar to the charter of Louis XVIII. But the country was disturbed with Carlist plots. For five years (1834-39) the issue was in doubt; but the incompetence of Carlos turned the scale against him; his partisans, weary of the struggle, withdrew, and Carlos fled abroad. His claim still lives with his descendants, and a Carlist

party still stands ready to profit by the weakness of the Spanish Government.

The regency of Christina and the reign of her daughter, Isabella, were vacillating, unprogressive, and filled with scandal. In 1868 the army and navy rose with pronunciamientos against the crown, Madrid joined the insurgents, and Isabella fled to France. A provisional government offered the crown in vain to one prince after another. The offer to the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was the immediate cause of the Franco-Prussian War. Finally, Amadeo, son

Revolution and
republic.



ALPHONSO XIII, KING
OF SPAIN.

of Victor Emmanuel of Italy, accepted the honor, but finding it impossible to reconcile the Spanish political factions, resigned in 1873. The Cortes proclaimed a Republic. The Republic was, however, no solution. A struggle of embittered partisans, it degenerated into a military dictatorship under Marshal Serrano. In 1874 Martinez Campos, a military leader, proclaimed in favor of Alphonso XII, son of Isabella, and he was accepted. His rule was liberal, politically ; but in order to reconcile the pope, who had declared in favor of the Carlist claimant, Alphonso closed Protestant chapels and schools, and abolished civil marriage. The army was reorganized on the German model ; civil affairs were left to a ministry responsible to the Cortes. Alphonso died in 1886, and was succeeded by his posthumous son, Alphonso XIII.

In colonial matters Spain has been unsuccessful. This is due in part, no doubt, to her methods ; but it remains to be shown that any other power can deal successfully with the same material. In the West Indies and in the Philippines her colonial subjects have been for years in

constant revolt. The Cuban War of 1895 resulted in the intervention of the United States, and in the brief war which followed Spain betrayed her poverty and lack of military resources. The treaty of Paris stripped her of her chief possessions, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

John VI, King of Portugal, of the house of Braganza, fled before Napoleon to the greater Portugal, Brazil. There he remained after the restoration, and governed Portugal from Rio de Janeiro. In 1820 John VI died, and left two sons. Pedro, the elder, chose to remain in Brazil, and proclaimed himself emperor; Miguel, the younger, came to Portugal, but was driven out in 1824. Pedro, not wishing to come to Europe, yielded his rights to his daughter, Maria da Gloria, who granted a constitution in 1826, similar to the French charter of 1814.

A struggle for the throne ensued between Maria and Miguel, which lasted until 1834. The powers intervened and drove Miguel out of the kingdom; he promised, in return for a yearly allowance, to renounce the crown, and live in exile. Maria married a German prince of the house of Coburg.

Portugal has reflected, in her political development, the movements of Spain. The constitution has been modified and made more liberal; the suffrage made more general. Portugal remains, however, the most backward country of western Europe.

SELECT READING AND SOURCE REVIEW

I. Decline of Spain's Colonial Empire.—"The people standing at the threshold of the twentieth century have viewed the collapse of the last important edifices in the Spanish colonial domain. Spain, after a reign of just about four hundred years over an empire on which the sun never set, retained, at the termination of the war with the United States,

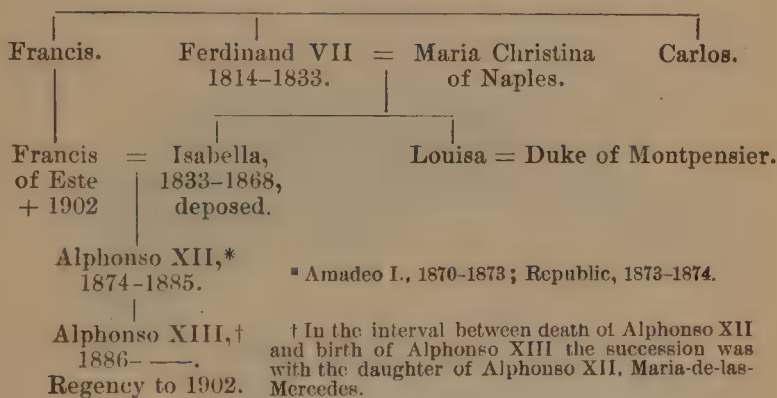
but a remnant of its vast realms. In the Oceanica, the Caroline Islands and Palos, as well as the Ladrões (except Guam), with a total area of 610 square miles and a population of 37,000 souls, were yet Spanish; but since then they have been sold to Germany. In Africa, Spain still owns territory amounting to 243,877 square miles, and having 136,000 inhabitants. A further district on the Campo and Muni rivers, measuring 69,000 square miles and counting 500,000 residents, is in dispute with France.

“A detailed discussion of the reasons for the misfortunes suffered by the Spaniards in colonization is not necessary. In every epoch and region the seeds were sown to reap the whirlwind. Too centralized an administration, utter lack of self-government, corrupt officials, avaricious greed for quick returns at the sacrifice of future prospects, a restrictive commercial system, trade monopoly, erroneous economic doctrines, the admission of the Church to an exaggerated share in public affairs, and general wastefulness of resources, accompanied with enormous taxation, are the elemental defects to which disaster was due. The Crown always clung to the maxim that it was the right of the parent state to draw all possible benefit and advantage for itself from the colonies, irrespective of the interests of the latter. Conquest would more aptly designate its motive of action in taking possession of foreign territory. Whatever may have been the temporary objects, the results are clear; the record must inevitably be closed with the verdict of failure due to false policy and deplorable methods.”—*Morris: History of Colonization.*

II.—In spite of the disasters which have fallen to the lot of Spain in the nineteenth century, she has not escaped the liberalizing and progressive influences of the times. Emilio Castelar, the great democratic leader, has written as follows: “When we turn the eyes of our memory to the sad realities of the past and compare them with the realities of the present, we see what may be accomplished without the fulfilment of Utopian dreams and unrealizable ideals. Those who have seen an almost absolute monarchy may to-day see a democratic monarchy. Those who once scarcely dared to express their thoughts, to-day can write whatever they think proper. Those who were once excluded from the universities for pro-

claiming free thought and the proper standards of science, to-day have a right to teach what they think and believe. Those who once felt their hearts stirred with indignation against slavery and the markets where human beings were bought and sold, as in Nineveh and Babylon, now know that to-day there is not one slave under the Spanish flag. We may well feel content with the work of the past forty years."

III.—The Spanish Succession



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§ 47. SWITZERLAND

In the eighteenth century Switzerland was a league of thirteen sovereign states, loosely bound together for purposes of defense. The Peace of Westphalia had recognized their independence in 1648, but two centuries had failed to knit the states together into a common government. Differences in religion, which each canton had settled for itself, was one of the obstacles to closer union. In mountain cantons, where the population was pastoral or agricultural, and poverty was the rule, democratic institutions prevailed;

Switzerland in the eighteenth century.

the people met together in open-air assemblies, and regulated their common affairs; but in the cities, an aristocracy, enriched with trade and manufacture, governed with despotic powers. Indeed the bond of union between the states was as slight as could be imagined, and civil liberty, as understood in later times, was not a feature of Swiss life in the more populous cantons.



THE LION OF LUCERNE.

The French Revolution broke rudely in upon these self-satisfied communities, and forced upon them unity and liberty against their will. In 1798 Switzerland was invaded by the armies of the French Directory, and a Helvetic Republic established after the pattern of the French Republic then existing, with a central government and civil equality. The conservative Swiss resented vigorously the reformation from without, and a period of civil war ensued. In 1803 Napoleon restored the sovereignty of the cantons, and restricted the central government to the conduct of foreign and military affairs; but he added six new cantons, and

The Revolution
and Napoleon.

forced each canton to adopt a constitution, based on civil and religious liberty.

The fall of Napoleon and the spirit of reaction which prevailed in Europe gave to the Swiss conservatives an opportunity to show their dislike of French institutions. The older cantons withdrew their representatives from the Diet and demanded back their eighteenth-century institutions. The new cantons held to the Napoleonic constitution, and Switzerland found herself divided into two hostile camps. At length moderate counsels prevailed, and the "Federal Pact of 1815" was adopted, a loose federation, leaving to each canton the right of regulating its internal affairs, and giving to the central government, the Diet, the organization of the postal service, the regulation of the coinage, and the control of foreign affairs. The reaction did not carry Switzerland completely back to its pre-Revolutionary status, but it emphasized the principle of state rights and gave evidence of the determination of the Swiss not to be hurried by outside influences along the line of political reform. The Federal Pact of 1815 was not unlike the Confederation of the United States before the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. The individual cantons, left to organize their own governments, restored for the most part their aristocratic forms. The Congress of Vienna added three cantons, taken from French territory, making the number twenty-two, as at present.

But the political and civil reforms which Switzerland would not receive from strangers came gradually about through internal progress. Situated in the midst of Europe, the Swiss were not insensible to the growth of liberty about them.

Growth of
democracy.

A democratic party, consisting of the people crowded out of public affairs in the aristocracies, demanded in 1830 a revision of the cantonal constitutions. The governments were alarmed and yielded. One by one the cantons

amended their constitutions in a liberal sense. In some cases this was accomplished peacefully, in some by revolution; but in the end civil and political rights were generally established.

Religious differences were the causes which eventually brought union out of disunion. The Pact of 1815 guaranteed the rights and privileges of religious institutions; but the wave of democratic reform broke down this guaranty, demanding the abolition of monasteries and the expulsion of the Jesuit order. In 1843 the seven Catholic cantons formed a league for mutual defence, the "*Sonderbund*," and withdrew their deputies from the Diet. For four years this league within a league existed, but in 1847 war broke out. The great powers, Austria, Russia, Prussia and France, agreed to intervene and reinforce the Pact of 1815; but before they could act the army of the Diet struck a quick, sharp blow, and in eighteen days the *Sonderbund* was defeated. (Lucerne, November 24, 1847.)

Constitutional revision followed at once; a strong progressive government had become a necessity. A committee of the Diet was appointed to draft a new constitution, and under liberal influences the Constitution of 1848 was produced. By it a Federal state was established in place of the old, loose Federation of 1815. Switzerland became, like the United States, a Federal Republic. Each canton preserved its state government, and exercised all rights not specially conferred upon the federal power. The federal legislature is composed of two houses: a Senate, with two members for each canton; and a National Council, elective, representing the people, like our House of Representatives. The executive is a board of seven men, sitting in joint session; the President merely chairman of the board. In 1874 a Federal Supreme Court was added.

A peculiar Swiss institution is the *Referendum*, much admired in other countries. Any bill which has passed the

Sunderbund War
and Constitution
of 1848.



QUEEN VICTORIA.

two houses must be submitted, on demand of thirty thousand qualified Swiss citizens, or of eight cantons, to the vote of the people, before it can become law.

Switzerland to-day is one of the most progressive of European nations. In education, in legislation governing

the hours and conditions of labor, in industry,
 Switzerland of to-day. and in general well-being Switzerland stands

in the van of modern progress. Her constitution, with its large allowance of local self-government, suits admirably a country whose population is composed of three race elements. The Germans, who make up two of the three millions of the Swiss people, live harmoniously with the French of the five western cantons, and the 150,000 Italians of the Canton of Ticino on the South.

SELECT READING

Switzerland a Voluntary Union.—"Look at Switzerland, as she is even now. Does she not stand for a representation—on a small scale and imperfectly, it may be—of what poets and philosophers have pictured to themselves the world might some day become? Is she not already, in her way, a miniature Parliament of Man? For she is not a national unit, like France and Spain, existing as such in spite of herself. The nucleus of the Swiss Confederation was perhaps formed by nature to be free and independent, but the outlying districts joined the Union of their own accord; in other words, it is the will of the Swiss people and their fixed determination which keep them united. Consider the mixture of races and religions which they represent. Of the twenty-two Cantons, thirteen are German speaking, four are French; in three German and French both are spoken, in one Italian, and in another Romansch. The population of German Switzerland is almost purely Teutonic; that of French Switzerland about half-and-half Teutonic and Celto-Roman; while Italian and Romansch Switzerland can boast of Celto-Roman, Ostro-Gothic, and even Etruscan elements. Some of these Cantons are Protestant, others Roman Catholic, and others, again, have a

mixed population of both faiths. If these incongruous, often antagonistic Cantons can meet upon some common plane and conform to some common standard, can live side by side in peace and prosperity, surely the task of some day uniting the nations of the world upon a similar basis is not altogether hopeless and chimerical.”—McCracken: “*The Rise of the Swiss Republic.*”

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§ 48. THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are ranked in the nineteenth century among the minor states. Their great importance in the Middle Ages, when they sent forth hordes of conquering Northmen to rule the destinies of western Europe, has found no counterpart in modern times. The meteoric appearance of Charles XII of Sweden was the last gleam of Scandinavian greatness.

In Napoleon's time the northern states were much disturbed by the ambitions of the Emperor and the Tsar. Sweden lost the Grand Duchy of Finland to Russia. One of Napoleon's generals, Bernadotte, was chosen by the childless Swedish king as his heir. After the fall of Napoleon, Denmark, which had remained faithful to the Emperor's fortunes, was punished by the loss of Norway, detached by the Allies in 1814, and added to the crown of Sweden, a reward for Bernadotte, who prudently deserted his old commander in his failing fortunes. The Danish king retained only Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Bernadotte offered the Norwegians a viceroy and a constitution; but they refused and war began. Finally an agreement was made between the two countries: the king should be King of Sweden and of

The three states
of the north.

Norway ; but each people should retain its separate government.

Sweden preserved her aristocratic form of government well into the nineteenth century. The king governed with a Council of State; a Diet, consisting of four orders, nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants, registered the will of the king. The Lutheran church was secured and all other religions were prohibited. Religious freedom was not secured until 1858 ; a reform movement resulted in the Constitution of 1866, which transformed the old Diet into a modern parliament.

In Sweden, as elsewhere in Scandinavia, the composition of political parties was peculiar. In France, Italy, and Germany, as we have seen, the cities were the centers of the liberal movement. In France, for example, the revolutions have ever proceeded from Paris, and were echoed in the lesser towns, such as Lyons and Marseilles. This is due to the fact that the cities contained a large population of laborers and of the unprivileged classes, who were always seeking to improve their condition. But in the Scandinavian states the cities, where the courts and their officials predominated, were the centers of conservatism, and the liberals were the country people, intelligent, accustomed to independence, and jealous of their liberties.

After the separation from Denmark Norwegian society was reduced to peasant proprietors, merchants, sailors, and pastors ; a democratic nation, with no idle nobility to support. The scattered population, orderly and accustomed to the regulation of local affairs, demanded little govern-



OSCAR II. KING OF SWEDEN.

ment, and the national legislature met but once in three years. It was in conflict with Bernadotte (Charles XIV) during the whole of his reign (1818-1844).

Norway.

Oscar I (1844-59) yielded to the Norwegians, recognized their national flag, and lived in peace. Religious liberty was established, and in 1869 the sessions of the legislature, the *Storthing*, were made annual.

Norway soon became prosperous. The population increased rapidly; the debt was paid off, and Norway came to be one of the leading maritime nations, owning



BJÖRNSON, LEADER OF
THE SEPARATIST PARTY
IN NORWAY.

one-fourth of the merchant shipping of Europe. With Oscar II, who succeeded Charles XV in 1872, the struggle with Sweden was renewed. The constitution of Norway (1814) forbade the king's ministers sitting in the *Storthing*, lest their presence should influence the deputies. Now, however, wishing to establish the English system of a responsible ministry, the Norwegians sought to amend their constitution, making the ministers responsible to the *Storthing*, and compelling their appearance before that body. The

king refused to concede this, and claimed that the constitution could not be amended, except with his consent. The *Storthing* passed the measure three times over the king's veto, and declared the constitution amended, against the protest of the king. War seemed inevitable; but in 1884 King Oscar yielded, and Norway passed over to the parliamentary system, which means the government of the country by the people.

But Norway was not satisfied with this. Jealous of any restriction upon her national independence, she now demands the right to regulate her own foreign affairs and

establish consuls abroad. In 1895 the *Storting* voted for a Norwegian flag without the symbol of union. There is a mutual lack of confidence in the united kingdoms, and the union seems strained almost to breaking. One party in Norway demands the establishment of a republic.

In 1814 Denmark was much lessened in importance by the loss of Norway. In 1864 Denmark was still further reduced by the loss of Schleswig and Holstein, forcibly torn away by Prussia and Austria. One article of the treaty in which Denmark surrendered the duchies provided "that the people of northern Schleswig, if by a free vote they signify their desire to be reunited to Denmark, shall be ceded to that country ;" but this provision was never carried out, and was canceled by Germany in 1878. The Schleswig Danes have never been reconciled to the separation.

The adversities of Denmark, as so often happens in the histories of nations, modified the absolutist form of her government, and brought about the Constitution of 1866, under which the country has been governed since that time. This constitution, like the French Charter of Louis XVIII, left in doubt the control of the ministry—whether by king or by parliament. Since 1873 a parliamentary conflict has raged about this question, and it is still unsolved.

Iceland, the frigid dependency of Denmark, has had her political experiences. She demanded financial independence, freedom from control at Copenhagen, and received a new constitution in 1893, establishing home rule. Iceland has a legislature, the *Althing*, of two chambers : an Upper Chamber of twelve members, half of which are appointed by the king ; and an elective Lower House.

SELECT READING

Norwegian Dissatisfaction.—Many things tend to make the union with Sweden unpopular in Norway. Sweden, directed by the aristocratic tendencies of her court, leans toward an

intimacy with Germany; but democratic Norway turns for sympathy toward the liberal nations of the West, France and England. The same tendencies bring together Norway and Denmark, the latter state still smarting under the losses of the Schleswig-Holstein wars. An eminent French historian, Charles V. Langlois, has given the following estimate of Norway: "Norway has in recent years excited much interest in the outside world. Her writers, such as Ibsen; explorers, such as Nansen, and artists like Thaulow and Grieg enjoy an international reputation. The Norway of to-day, which is in many respects, as, for example, in her school system, and in her efforts to restrict the excessive use of alcohol, notably in advance of the larger countries of Europe, is at the height of her material and intellectual development. She is now passing through a phase of national existence somewhat similar to that which Portugal passed through in the sixteenth, and Sweden and Holland in the eighteenth century. The Norwegian nation is to-day that people of all Europe which most nearly resembles the peoples of the new world, of North America, of Australia, and of South Africa."

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(For constitution of Norway-Sweden) Woodrow Wilson: *The State*, Chapter IX.

§ 49. BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

The Kingdom of the Netherlands, created by the Congress of Vienna out of the United Provinces (Holland) and the Austrian Netherlands, was an ill-assorted union. The Belgian provinces of the south had little in common with the Dutch provinces of the north. The former had received their language and ideas from France; the latter, inhabited by people speaking a language closely allied to German, had ever been open to German influences. Besides this the Dutch were Protestant; the Belgians, Catholic.

Kingdom of the
Netherlands.

French occupation, during the Revolution and the Napoleonic period, swept away the old political and social institutions, which had existed in the Netherlands since the Middle Ages, and made the foundations ready for the erection of a modern state. It did for the Netherlands what Joseph II wished to do for his Belgian provinces in the eighteenth century, and more. Although the Netherlands had suffered from the trade restrictions imposed by Napoleon in his attempt to incorporate them into his Continental System, yet the people were shrewd enough to recognize the advantages of the French methods of administration. The Fundamental Law of 1814, which organized the Kingdom of the Netherlands, established a constitutional monarchy after the pattern of the French charter of Louis XVIII.

Belgium is a product of the Revolution of July. The Kingdom of the Netherlands fell to pieces

at the first shock to the system of the Congress of Vienna. The Belgians made good their revolt, secured recognition from the Powers, and chose for king Leopold of Coburg. The Dutch king refused to recognize the decision of the Powers, and a French army drove the Dutch troops from Belgian soil. It was not until 1839 that King William accepted the inevitable division of his kingdom.

At the time of their revolt the Belgians declared in favor of a hereditary monarchy with representative institutions. A liberal constitution was adopted, which declares that "all powers emanate from the nation." The king governs through a ministry responsible to the Chambers,



LEOPOLD II, KING OF
BELGIUM.

the ministers resigning when they have no longer a majority in the Chamber of Deputies ; an arrangement which makes the Chamber the ruling power in national affairs. Complete liberty of the press and of worship was established. Thus in 1830 Belgium was far ahead of all the nations of the Continent in the possession of constitutional privileges and parliamentary government.

Since 1830 political struggles in Belgium have turned upon two questions : education and suffrage. The Liberal and the Catholic party have had about equal Belgium of to-day. chances at the helm of government. The liberals have labored to make the school system independent of the church ; but this the Catholic party has vigorously opposed.

The Constitution of 1830 limited the suffrage to men paying taxes to the amount of twenty florins (\$8.00). In 1891 it had come to be recognized quite generally that the requirements for voting needed to be changed ; because, in a population of 6,000,000, there were only 135,000 voters. After two years of debate a system of plural voting was adopted. Each man over twenty-five years has one vote. If he is the head of a family, he has an additional vote ; if possessor of real estate or of 2,000 francs in the savings-bank, a vote ; if graduate of a high school, a vote ; provided that he may not have more than three votes in all. This system of voting produced 1,350,000 voters with 2,066,000 votes. Voting is obligatory.

The political struggles of Belgium have never endangered the constitution nor prevented a rapid increase in the population and wealth. The population has nearly doubled since 1830, and Belgium has become one of the foremost industrial countries in the world. King Leopold II has sought to furnish a colonial outlet for Belgian enterprise in the creation of the Congo Free State in Africa.

After the loss of Belgium, affairs were quiet in the Netherlands for several years. In 1844 a Liberal party began the



“THE HOUSE IN THE WOOD.”
Royal Palace, The Hague, Netherlands.

agitation for a modern constitution, and this was drafted by the States-General and promulgated in 1848. A legislature of two chambers was established, the members of the Upper Chamber appointed by the local governments of the provinces; the members of the Lower Chamber elected by voters paying a certain amount of direct taxes. Universal suffrage, although demanded by the Liberals, has never been adopted in the Netherlands. The ministry is responsible to the legislature, which still retains the ancient name of States-General.

As might be supposed in a country formed by the union of independent provinces, the individual provinces retain large powers of local self-government. Each province has its estates, which are largely concerned with the important task of keeping up its canals. The communes (towns and villages) are responsible for the repair and maintenance of the dykes. The nineteenth century has been a period of prosperity for the Netherlands; her population has doubled since 1830.

The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was given to King William in 1814 as an indemnity for the loss of certain

Dependencies. Rhenish lands belonging to his family, which were ceded to Prussia. It was attached to

the Dutch crown through a personal union, and was not made a part of the Netherlands. Since succession in the Grand Duchy is through the male line only, on the death of William III in 1890, and the succession of his daughter Wilhelmina, the Grand Duchy was lost to Holland, passing to the Duke of Nassau, next in succession in the male line.



WILHELMINA, QUEEN OF
THE NETHERLANDS.

The Netherlands looks small on the map, but it possesses a huge colonial empire, which forms an outlet for ambitious young men, and brings vast wealth to the home country. From 1850 to 1873 the colonies produced a surplus of revenue, which went toward defraying home expenses and the retirement of the national debt. In 1873 the war against the Atchinese in Sumatra necessitated heavy military expenditures, and turned the account.

SOURCE REVIEW

Peace Conference at The Hague.—On the 24th of August, 1898, Count Mouravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of his imperial master, the Tsar Nicholas II, placed in the hands of all foreign representatives at St. Petersburg a proposal for an international conference, looking toward the maintenance of universal peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments with which the Powers are burdened. "The ever-increasing financial burdens," the proposal reads, "strike at the root of public prosperity. The physical and intellectual forces of the people, labor and capital, are diverted for the great part from their natural application and wasted unproductively. Hundreds of millions are spent in acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which are regarded to-day as the latest inventions of science, but are destined to-morrow to be rendered obsolete by some new discovery. It is the supreme duty, therefore, at the present moment, to put some limit to these increasing armaments, and to find means of averting the calamities which threaten the whole world."

In response to this invitation representatives of nearly all independent governments (the exceptions were the South American republics, the Emperor of Morocco, the King of Abyssinia, and the Grand Lama of Thibet) met at The Hague on the 18th of May, 1899, and there organized a system of courts for international arbitration. Nothing was accomplished in the way of reducing the standing armies of the European states.

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CHAPTER XVII

England

§ 50. POLITICAL REFORMS IN ENGLAND

ENGLAND is the only one of the European states which has gone through the nineteenth century without revolution. She has preserved in the main the form of government which was established at the end of the seventeenth century, after the expulsion of the Stuart kings. Such changes as have taken place have not involved the writing of new constitutions ; for England has no written constitution, and the introduction of new forms and usages gradually accommodates the form of government to the needs of the times. Such forms and usages, once adopted, become precedents, with the force of law ; and in this manner the unwritten constitution of England keeps pace with the demands of progress.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the government of England consisted of a king, a ministry, and a Parliament of two houses, Lords and Commons. The king governed through his ministry, and the ministry was in theory responsible to Parliament. This parliamentary system, which set the mark toward which all liberal Europe was tending during the first half of the century, would, if carried out to its logical conclusion, have resulted in England in the rule of Parliament. But certain of the English kings were not disposed to surrender the supreme power without a struggle. George III was the last of the kings who sought to impose his personal will upon the nation, and the failure of his policy in the American Revolution

gave a final blow to personal government in England. The desperate struggle in which England was engaged against revolutionary and Napoleonic France checked for a time her internal development, and the fear of liberal ideas, which was the outcome of this struggle, postponed the reform movement in England for a generation.



WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

But England's political liberties at the beginning of the nineteenth century were more apparent than real. It is true that Parliament governed the country; but Parliament did not represent the people. It represented a relatively small group of persons, the land-owners and wealthy manufacturers, an aristocracy of blood and money. Owing to the traditional aversion of the English for change, the system of parliamentary representation remained practically the same as in the seventeenth century, although during that period the popula-

Need of reform.

tion of England had undergone a complete change of distribution. In the seventeenth century the South of England, a rich agricultural country, with Channel ports controlling the foreign trade, was most populous; but toward the end of the eighteenth century a new era of steam manufacture built up great cities in the north, such as Manchester and Birmingham, near to the mines of coal and iron. Yet these cities of 100,000 population were given no representation in Parliament, while the old decayed towns, often dwindled to a hundred souls, still preserved their two members each in the House of Commons. Places of this kind were called "pocket boroughs," because they were controlled by a single man or family. Sometimes the memberships, to which the borough was entitled, were sold, and the proceeds divided among the few inhabitants. The borough of Sudbury advertised itself for sale to the highest bidder.

Apart from the towns the conditions were no better. In the English counties no one but landowners had the right of voting. In Scotland matters were still worse; out of a population of 2,000,000, there were less than 3,000 voters. "The county of Bute, with a population of 14,000, had only twenty-one voters, and of those only one was resident. He took the chair, moved and seconded his own nomination, put the vote, and elected himself unanimously as county member." The result was that the seats in Parliament were almost wholly acquired by inheritance, by purchase, or by family influence. The House of Commons was not representative of the people; it was an assembly of landlords and plutocrats, and their nominees, who represented their interests. It was impossible to secure such legislation as would meet the needs of the growing industrial centers.

In 1815 public opinion was aroused upon this question. An association was formed at Birmingham for the purpose of bringing the subject to the attention of the people, by

means of the press and public meetings. The government was obliged at length to meet the issue. The Duke of Wellington, chief of the Tory (conservative)

Movement toward reform.

ministry then in power, refused to yield; he declared that "the representative system, just as it stood," was "a masterpiece of human wisdom." In 1830 Wellington was overthrown, and a Whig (liberal) ministry under Earl Grey presented a Reform Bill. Twice it passed the House of Commons, but went no farther; it was shattered against the aristocratic tradi-

tions of the House of Lords. Riots broke out, and revolution seemed at hand; but the cool common sense of the English prevailed; a way was found to circumvent the House of Lords. The ministry announced that the crown would create enough Liberal peers to overcome the Tory majority. Upon this the Lords weakened; enough stayed away to permit the passage of the bill, and in this manner the Reform Bill became law, in 1832.



GLADSTONE.

The Reform Bill broke down the aristocratic majority in Parliament, and let the Newer England into the government. This was accomplished by redistributing the country. From the old "rotten boroughs" were taken away members, who were distributed among the new, vigorous towns. The suffrage was enlarged, and political power was transferred from the upper to the middle classes. The same reforms were extended by Disraeli in 1867. The secret ballot was introduced in 1872. In 1884 Gladstone extended the ballot to 3,000,000 rural votes, mostly agricultural laborers. In 1885 electoral districts were constituted on the American

plan, and the last vestige of the old apportionment disappeared. London, which before the Reform Bill of 1832 had six members, now received sixty-two. Gradually and without disturbance the tendency is toward the inclusion of the whole people in the task of self-government.

SELECT READING

Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, 1833.—The period which succeeded the passing of the Reform Bill was characterized by an immense activity and earnestness in legislation. One of the greatest of its products was the complete abolition of the system of slavery in the British colonies. The slave trade had itself been greatly limited through the efforts of Great Britain, but now the whole system of West Indian slavery was brought to an end. A long agitation on the part of a small but energetic anti-slavery party brought about this result in 1833. The name of William Wilberforce (1759–1833) is most intimately connected with this reform. The bill which passed Parliament, and which took effect from the first of August, 1834, gave immediate freedom to all children subsequently born, and to all those who were then under six years of age, while it prescribed for all other slaves a period of apprenticeship lasting five years (and in the case of agricultural slaves, seven years), after which they obtained absolute freedom. The bill also appropriated £20,000,000 for the compensation of the slave-owners. Two colonies, Antigua and the Bermudas, dispensed with the apprentice system altogether, and in no case did it last beyond 1838. The number of slaves at the time of the emancipation was estimated at 674,000.—Adapted from McCarthy : *The Epoch of Reform*.

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Judson : *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, Chapters XVIII,
XIX, XX.

§ 51. THE CORN LAWS AND OTHER PROBLEMS

Before the reorganization of Parliament by the Reform Bill the landowners were in power, and saw to it that their interests were protected. Laws were passed
 The Corn Laws. early in the century for the purpose of keeping up the price of grain. When grain fell to eight shillings a quarter, importation was forbidden. The benefit of this artificial price of grain went, not to the tenant, who cultivated the soil, but to the landlord, who confiscated the additional profit by advancing the rent. On the other hand the Corn Laws kept the price of food high for the laborer, and so increased the cost of manufacture. England was then hanging in the balance between her agricultural and her industrial interests; and as Parliament was controlled by the class whose interests were agricultural, little attention was paid to the demands of the industrial class for cheap food.

The change in the composition of Parliament brought about by the Reform Bill solved the problem. The old landowning aristocracy was unseated in the Commons, and the new element stood for trade and industry. The results were soon apparent. In 1838 an Anti-Corn Law League was formed. The leading spirits were Richard Cobden and John Bright. Through the press they carried on a "Campaign of Education," which ended in convincing the majority of Englishmen. The fact was that the industrial element had by this time grown so strong that it would no longer permit dear food to stand in the way of England's commercial supremacy. About this time the great famine in Ireland, by which Ireland lost about 2,000,000 of her population, strengthened the demand for cheap food. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846 in the ministry of Sir Robert Peel, and by 1852 the protective duties were all gone. England had passed over to the doctrine of free trade, under which she grew to be, in the

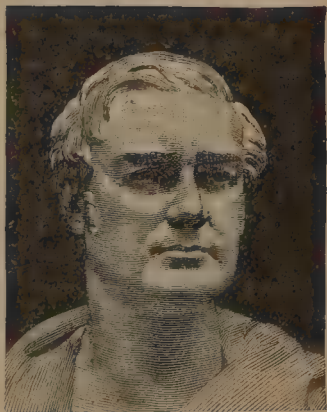
nineteenth century, the greatest trading and manufacturing nation in the world.

Since 1673 Roman Catholics were debarred from holding public office and sitting in either house of Parliament by the requirement of a declaration against some of the main points of Catholic doctrine. In 1793 the Irish Parliament, seven years before its abolition, admitted Catholics to the right of voting, but after the union in 1801 none but Protestant members could be sent from Ireland into Parliament in England. Both George III and George IV, when there was talk of removing the disability, declared that they were bound by their coronation oaths to uphold the Anglican Church against Catholicism.

In 1828 O'Connell, a powerful orator and a Roman Catholic, was sent to Parliament from Ireland. He was refused a seat. The ministry desired to yield, but George IV refused his consent. The ministry resigned, and the king, unable to form another ministry to uphold his policy, was obliged to concede the general demand for toleration. In 1829 the Catholic disabilities were removed; Catholics were admitted to sit in both houses of Parliament, and to hold all offices, civil and military, with one or two exceptions.

England has solved most of her vexatious questions; but the Irish question seems incapable of solution. It is her race question, but a race question embittered with religious differences. The Irish are pure Celts; the English are of mixed origin, but

Catholic emancipation.



SIR ROBERT PEEL, ENGLAND'S FREE TRADE MINISTER.

The Irish question.

largely of German blood, with an admixture of Norman French. The Irish have remained attached to the Catholic Church; the English are for the most part Protestants.

Ireland has been governed as a conquered country; ever since the conquest in the seventeenth century the Irish have been ruled by the English. In 1815 the Anglican Church was the State church in Ireland, supported by tithes and the income from church estates. Although its adherents were only 620,000 out of a total population of 5,000,000, yet the whole of Ireland was taxed to support it. In some parts there was a church and a rector, but no congregation at all; nevertheless the tithes were collected and the rector paid, and the peasantry were obliged, in addition to the tithes, to support Catholic services out of their voluntary contributions. The land belonged to English landlords, who for the most part were "absentee," living out of Ireland. The Irish peasant occupied for generations a small farm, on which he built his cabin, and for which he paid rent. Likely to be evicted at the pleasure of the landlord, he was not disposed to make improvements, which would only induce the landlord to seek a new tenant at a higher rental. The shiftlessness and wretchedness of the Irish peasant became proverbial.

In 1782 Ireland was a dependency of Great Britain, with a Parliament of its own at Dublin. This Parliament was not representative of the Irish people, for it was wholly Protestant, no Catholic being allowed to hold office in the island. In 1793 the disabilities of Catholics as to voting were removed; but in 1801, at a time when the Irish were looking to Napoleon to free them from the hated bondage to England, Ireland was united to England by the Act of Union, its Parliament suppressed, and representation given to Irish Protestants in the English Parliament, both in Lords and Commons. Locally Ireland was governed by a Lord-Lieutenant, appointed by the English crown.

During the nineteenth century the condition of the Irish has been improved. In 1869 Gladstone brought about the disestablishment of the Irish church. *The Irish struggle.* Ireland was no longer obliged to support with tithes a church in which she had no interest. The tenure of land by Irish peasants has been much improved. In a series of acts, from 1870 to 1885, Mr. Gladstone brought to the peasantry fair rents and fixed tenure, and now the government advances to the tenant, upon easy terms of payment, the cash for the purchase of his holding. In time the Irish, with any showing of thrift, will become free proprietors, and Irish rents will become a thing of the past.

But Ireland is not satisfied with this. She wants at least self-government. Whether, with self-government in Ireland, England would find a friend or an enemy on the west is an important question. Mr. Gladstone undoubtedly believed in Ireland's friendship, for he set to work to crown his benefits to Ireland with the gift of Home Rule, which the Irish party in Parliament, under the leadership of Parnell, had advocated since 1870. In 1886 the Liberal (Mr. Gladstone's party) introduced a bill into Parliament providing for an Irish legislature. The Conservatives opposed it as a step toward Irish independence, and they were joined by a considerable body from the Liberals (the Liberal-Unionists, led by Joseph Chamberlain). The bill, defeated at the time, was reintroduced in 1893. It passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. In 1894 Mr. Gladstone, on account of age, was obliged to retire from the leadership of his party, his projects for Ireland unaccomplished. Since then the Liberal party has never been strong enough to urge the Irish question, even if it were disposed to do so.



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON. OPENED 1852.

SOURCE REVIEW

The Irish Famine of 1845-47.—"In 1841 the population of Ireland was 8,175,124 souls. In 1845 it had probably reached to nearly nine millions. To anyone looking beneath the surface the condition of the country was painfully precarious. Nine millions of a population living at best in a light-hearted and hopeful hand-to-mouth contentment, totally dependent on the hazards of one crop, destitute of manufacturing industries, and utterly without reserve or resource to fall back upon in time of reverse. Yet no one seemed conscious of danger. The potato crop had been abundant for four or five years, and respite from dearth and distress was comparative happiness and prosperity. Moreover, the temperance movement (of Father Mathew) had come to make the 'good times' still better. Everything looked bright; yet signs of the coming storm had been given; quite recently warnings that ought not to have been mistaken or neglected had given notice that the esculent which formed the sole dependence of the peasant millions was subject to some mysterious blight. In 1844 it was stricken in America, but in Ireland the yield was healthy and plentiful as ever. The harvest of 1845 proved to be the richest gathered in many years. Suddenly, in one short month, in one week, it might be said, the withering breath of a simoom seemed to sweep the land, blasting all in its path. I myself saw whole tracts of potato growth changed in one night from smiling luxuriance to a shriveled and blackened waste. A shout of alarm arose." [Nearly two million of people died, and as a result of the hard times one million emigrated from Ireland to America between 1847 and 1851.]—Sullivan: *New Ireland*.

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§ 52. ENGLAND'S POSSESSIONS

England may be regarded as the most successful in colonization of all nations. This is due to
Colonial Policy. three facts :

1. She has had a surplus of population, energetic enough to seek to improve their condition in the colonies.

2. Her colonists have not mingled with the natives with whom they came in contact. In this way the colonists have kept intact their European institutions, ideals, and culture.

3. England developed a liberal policy toward her colonies, giving them full measure of self-government. The result has proved the wisdom of the policy. Free to go, they have preferred to stay. The bond of blood grew stronger as the political bond was relaxed.

But this liberal policy was not adopted by England until the loss of the United States and the threat of further loss brought her to a closer study of the colonial problem. In 1837 Canada, after having for a generation protested against the aristocratic government thrust upon her from London, rebelled against the crown. The rebellion was put down with some severity, and in the following year a commissioner was sent from England to examine carefully and report upon the situation. As a result of his report, the home government decided to reverse its policy of repression and concede the Canadian demands. In 1840 Upper and Lower Canada were united and given a representative government, afterwards enlarged unto the Dominion of Canada, 1867. A Governor-General, appointed by the crown, is the only tie of political connection with the mother country. Although England has a right of veto over Canadian legislation, it is never used.

The English first became interested in Australia through the explorations of Captain Cook, who took possession of the eastern coast in the name of England in 1770. No

immediate settlement was made. In 1788 an expedition was sent out and a penal colony founded at Botany Bay.

Australasia. Early in the nineteenth century sheep-raising was begun and other parts of the continent occupied. Tasmania was settled in 1803; New Zealand in 1838. The settlements flourished, and before 1840 they numbered 80,000 souls. In 1851 the discovery of gold aroused additional interest in Australia. The self-government granted to Canada in 1840 was extended to Australia. New Zealand received representative institutions in 1852, New South Wales in 1855, and other colonies as soon as they were prepared for self-government. The use of the colonies as penal settlements was objected to by the new element that came to make homes, and the system was abandoned in 1860.

On January 1, 1901, the commonwealth of Australia came into being, a federation of the five continental colonies of Australia and Tasmania. New Zealand, on account of its distance from the continent, remains apart. The constitution of the new Commonwealth is similar to that of the Dominion of Canada, with a Governor-General, appointed by the crown, and two Houses of Parliament.

The defeat of Napoleon left England in possession of the Cape of Good Hope, which had been taken from the Dutch allies of France. England's actual possession
The Cape Colony. dates from 1806. The Cape Colony acquired self-government in 1853, with the same parliamentary system as Canada and the Australasian colonies. The Dutch colonists were never reconciled to British rule. In



CAPTAIN COOK.

1834, dissatisfied with the proximity of the English, a large body of them migrated ("trekked," as they called it) northward into the African wilderness. There, in Natal, supposing themselves to be beyond the reach of English ambitions, they set up a republican government of their own. In 1843 Natal was declared a British colony, and a great part of the Dutch "trekked" again up into what was afterward known as the Orange Free State. Again civilization pursued them, and the more unreconciled of the "Boers" moved away in 1848 into the wilderness across the river Vaal. Here in the Transvaal they were

for many years undisturbed, and those who remained in the Orange Free State were acknowledged independent in 1854.



A BOER GENERAL.

The Boers had fierce struggles with the native blacks, and looked to England for aid;

The Boer War.

but the aid came at too high a price, when the government of Disraeli, England's "Jingo" prime minister, planted the English flag in the Transvaal. In 1880 the Boers took up arms, and defeated the British in the

battle of Majuba Hill; but the government changed in England, and Gladstone reversed the policy of his predecessor and acknowledged the independence of the Boers, reserving to England the control of the foreign relations of the Transvaal.

Unfortunately for the Boers, the discovery of gold brought into their land an invasion of foreigners, who soon outnumbered the Boers and built up, at Johannesburg, the largest of the South African cities. The Boers resented the intrusion, and refused political rights to the newcomers; and, when England attempted to bring pres-

sure upon them, sprang to arms, the Transvaal and the Free State together (1899). The vastness of the country and the valor of the Boers made the war a difficult and costly one for England. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand came to the aid of the mother country, showing their willingness to share the imperial burden; but the sympathy of the rest of the world was with the Boers.

Besides the Anglo-Saxon lands the British Empire includes the great and populous countries of southern

Asia, known as
India.

India. The Sepoy mutiny of 1857, due partly to religious scruples, and partly to a dislike of British rule, put an end to the government of the East India Company, and India was transferred to the crown. In 1876 Queen Victoria took the title of Empress of India. India is governed by a Viceroy and Council appointed by the crown.



EDWARD VII.

The tendency of English occupation has been toward expansion; to reach northward for a natural boundary against the aggressions of Russia. These two states, England and Russia, have absorbed between them western and central Asia; Persia, Afghanistan, and China alone remain independent, and they are threatened.

English rule in India has in later years been wise and just; but the problem of India remains for the future to solve, if, indeed, it is capable of solution. The English have put a stop to the constant warfare between the petty states which made up India in earlier times; she has given to this mass of oriental peoples the "*Pax Britannica*;" life is safe as it has never been before; but the mass of the population remains at the same low level of poverty and

degradation. Of 200,000,000 in British India, only six per cent. can read and write; famines increase in intensity, and it is doubtful whether the more intelligent Indians are grateful for British efforts in their behalf or are in sympathy with British rule.

SELECT READING

I. The English in India.—"The truth is, the English are by nature unfitted to win the affections of a fanciful and dreamy oriental people. For the English temper is arrogant, hard, stubborn, practical, and unimaginative. Endowed with a genius for government, the Englishman has scant respect for races which have no capacity for politics and no aptitude for progress.

"What, then, is to be said of the contact of these two incongruous races? Is India really benefiting by a rule which arouses her antipathy? That she is well governed cannot be denied. Law and order reign throughout her wide domains as they never have reigned through the efforts of her native people, and from such an efficient and well-ordered rule the Hindoos must inevitably acquire new standards of political conduct. But chafing under the haughty and unbending dominion of a people whom they hate, they can hardly put on more than a veneer of civilization, and their longing to live their own life seems wholly natural and justifiable."—Sears : *Political Growth in the Nineteenth Century*.

II. The Lesson of Honesty.—"Of chief importance, perhaps, is the fact that, from the natives as well as from the administrators themselves, one learns that the Europeans have established among the natives, who, generally in most countries of the Orient, are themselves disposed to be corrupt and untruthful, a reputation for rigid honesty as regards all financial matters, and for truthfulness and justness in their dealings with others. Justice is done by the Europeans even against the personal interests of their own fellow-countrymen if need be, or against themselves in the settlement of disputes between Europeans and natives or among the natives. It is practically universally true throughout the English and Dutch colonies alike that if a native has a good case in which he wishes jus-

tice done, whether the case be civil or criminal, he will prefer the European judge.

“When one realizes that the chief obstacle among oriental peoples to the establishment of self-government is not a lack of intelligence, but rather a lack of trustworthiness and truthfulness, qualities upon which all successful organization in both business and politics must rest, the deep significance of such facts must not be overlooked.”—J. W. Jenks : *Report to War Department*, 1902.

CHAPTER XVIII

Africa

§ 53. EGYPT

THE nineteenth century witnessed an extension of European influence into Africa. Previous to 1800 the interior of the "Dark Continent" was unknown

Ottoman states
in Africa.

and uncared for. A few stations on the West Coast had been established, centers of the traffic in ivory, gold, and slaves. The states along the northern coast, bordering the Mediterranean, were remnants of the once great Mohammedan empire, still loosely attached to the center of the faith at Constantinople. The conquests of Napoleon in Egypt had been abandoned when

the emperor gave up his oriental schemes for the greater project of the control of Europe, and Egypt had returned into the hands of her Turkish governors.

In the troublous times which followed the French

invasion of Egypt a new and strong dynasty arose. Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, while nominally governing as viceroy of the



MEHEMET ALI.

Sultan, set to work to reorganize the country. The estates of the great landholders were converted into national do-



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| BRITISH | ITALIAN | FRENCH | KONGO STATE |
| GERMAN | PORTUGUESE | MOROCCO | LIBERIA |
| SPANISH | TURKISH | | |

main, and from the income of these lands and from taxes Mehemet Ali built up an able army after the European pattern, officered with French military experts. His fleet was greater than the Turkish fleet and better manned.

The Greek revolt gave Mehemet Ali an opportunity to try his forces. The Sultan, unable with his own resources to put down the Greeks, called his Egyptian vassal to his aid, and the invasion of Crete and the Morea followed. That the Greeks were not wholly crushed was owing to the sympathy aroused in Europe and the intervention of the Western Powers. Mehemet Ali was forced to retire, but he claimed his reward, the government of Syria, which the Sultan had promised him in return for his assistance. Waiting three years in vain, he advanced into Syria, took the province by force, and made his way northward toward Constantinople. The powers intervened and Mehemet Ali was checked, but retained, through the good offices of France, the government of Syria. In 1839 Turkey sought to drive him out, but the Egyptian army was again successful, and marched once more upon Constantinople. Nothing but the intervention of the Powers prevented the Egyptian Viceroy from seizing the throne of Turkey. England and France sent their fleets to the Bosphorus and co-operated with the Turkish troops in the defence of the city. Again Mehemet Ali was driven back, and forced to terms of peace, by which he gave up Syria and contented himself with the hereditary government of Egypt, conferred upon him and his descendants by a decree of the Sultan. Thus the Powers again saved Turkey from conquest, and established a hereditary dynasty on the throne of Egypt.

Egypt, regenerated and strongly governed by the family of Mehemet Ali, extended its influence, in the reign of Ismail Pasha (1863-1879), into the heart of Africa. The region of the Upper Nile was conquered by the Egyptian army, commanded by European officers, and the empire of

Ismail extended to the great lakes at the Nile sources and to the Indian Ocean on the Somali coast. During

his reign the Suez Canal was constructed, Ismail Pasha. through the indomitable energy of Ferdinand de Lesseps. It was formally opened with great celebration in the presence of the Empress Eugénie, on November 19, 1869, "the last great day of the Second Empire," as it has been called. England was doubtful of the success of the undertaking, but, when once it had been accomplished, she saw that the safety of the route to India lay in her control of the canal. With commercial shrewdness she took advantage



FERDINAND DE LESSEPS

of the financial needs of the Khedive, Ismail, and purchased his 177,000 shares in the Suez Company, thereby obtaining a majority interest. Ismail, carried away with the sudden importance and prosperity of his rule, plunged into extravagances and borrowed freely in Europe. Bankruptcy was threatened, and French and English creditors urged their respective governments to intervene. Thus a new motive was introduced into the international

politics of the world, a financial motive, likely to be as important for the future as the earlier motives of legitimacy and balance of power. The orientals are good borrowers, and their chronic inability to pay leads in the end to foreign intervention.

Under this pressure England and France intervened to force Ismail to entrust the administration of his finances to English and French agents. He refused and was deposed and replaced with his son Tewfik, who accepted the joint control, and made a place in his ministry for two financial agents, one

The
Condominium.

French and one English. This was the end of Egyptian independence.

This intervention was not cheerfully accepted, however, by the national Egyptian party. A military agitator, Arabi Pasha, organized a movement against the foreign control. At the same time, in the Upper Nile country, a pretended prophet or *Mahdi*, Mohammed Ahmed, preached a crusade against the hated Christians. This double insurrection came to a head in 1882: Arabi Pasha, with the Egyptians of the Lower Nile, pillaged the houses of Europeans and seized Alexandria. The English invited the French to intervene, but, in an evil hour for her, France refused. An English fleet bombarded Alexandria; General Wolseley disembarked 20,000 men, defeated Arabi Pasha at Tel-el-Kebir and entered Cairo. In this manner England broke the *Condominium*, and has since remained in possession of Egypt, to the exclusion of French influence.

It remained to conquer the Mahdi, who showed great powers of resistance. His troops, under the command of

The Soudan. Osman Digma, swept the valley of the Nile, and took Khartoum, where the Anglo-Egyptian general, Gordon, was murdered (January, 1885). A national hero, his fate aroused great indignation in England, and hastened the reconquest of the Soudan. General Kitchener, with admirable organization and well-planned advances, overthrew the Mahdi, and re-established Egyptian rule in the Upper Nile country.

Meanwhile, English rule has greatly benefited the Egyptians. Extensive works for regulating the overflow of the Nile, upon which the fertility of Egypt depends, are now in progress, and their completion will largely increase the area of Egyptian tillage.

§ 54. THE CONGO FREE STATE

The explorations of Livingstone opened up the heart of the Dark Continent. Before his death in 1873 he had carried the British name and influence into Central Africa. regions up to that time unknown. In 1871 Stanley began his travels, destined to draw the attention of Europe to the valley of the Congo, and to set in motion that scramble for land which in a few years caused the whole of this great continent, hitherto despised, to be



HENRY M. STANLEY.

divided up among the Powers of Europe. An important discovery was that the Lualaba River, found by Livingstone in Central Africa, was the upper stretches of the Congo. This gave a great waterway from the West Coast to the interior, and promised to make Central Africa accessible as it had never been before.

In 1876 Leopold II, King of the Belgians, gathered together at Brussels a convention of geographers and other

African International Association.

persons interested in African explorations from all parts of Europe. The African International Association was formed, the main object of which was to extinguish the slave-trade in Central Africa, where thousands of poor negroes were captured by bands of slave-hunting Arabs, and carried off for sale in the slave-markets of the Mohammedan world. The International Association did little of itself, but French, Belgian, and German explorers were sent out in national expeditions to explore East Central Africa.

In January, 1878, Stanley landed at Marseilles, coming

directly from his Congo explorations. King Leopold proposed to him to attack Africa from the west, by way of the Congo. Stanley accepted and entered the service of the Belgian king. In the following year his expedition arrived at the mouth of the Congo, and carried around the cataracts, which interrupt the navigation of the river not far from the coast, several steam-launches, which were put together in the upper river, at Stanley Pool. With these the expedition proceeded along the upper river, establishing posts and laying the foundations of a new African state.

The activity of King Leopold hastened the scramble for African possessions. France sent de Brazza into the new Congo country, and even Portugal was awakened to the fact that her old African claims, long neglected, were becoming valuable. Out of this jumble of conflicting claims Prince Bismarck summoned order by suggesting an International Conference at Berlin, for the purpose of discussing African questions and arranging boundaries.

In the meantime the Congo Association, formed under the auspices of the Belgian king, had arranged its difficulties with the separate powers. It conceded to Portugal the south bank of the Congo at its mouth, but secured by the north bank the access to the ocean which it desired. The powers of the Berlin Conference recognized the existence of an Independent Congo State, under the control of the Congo International Association. There was to be absolute freedom of trade and navigation of the Congo basin, and all nations were to enjoy equal privileges.

In 1885 the Belgian parliament authorized King Leopold to accept the headship of the state founded by the Congo International Association. "The union between Belgium and the new state was to be exclusively personal." Soon afterward

King Leopold announced to the Powers that the Association had been changed to the Congo Free State, and he

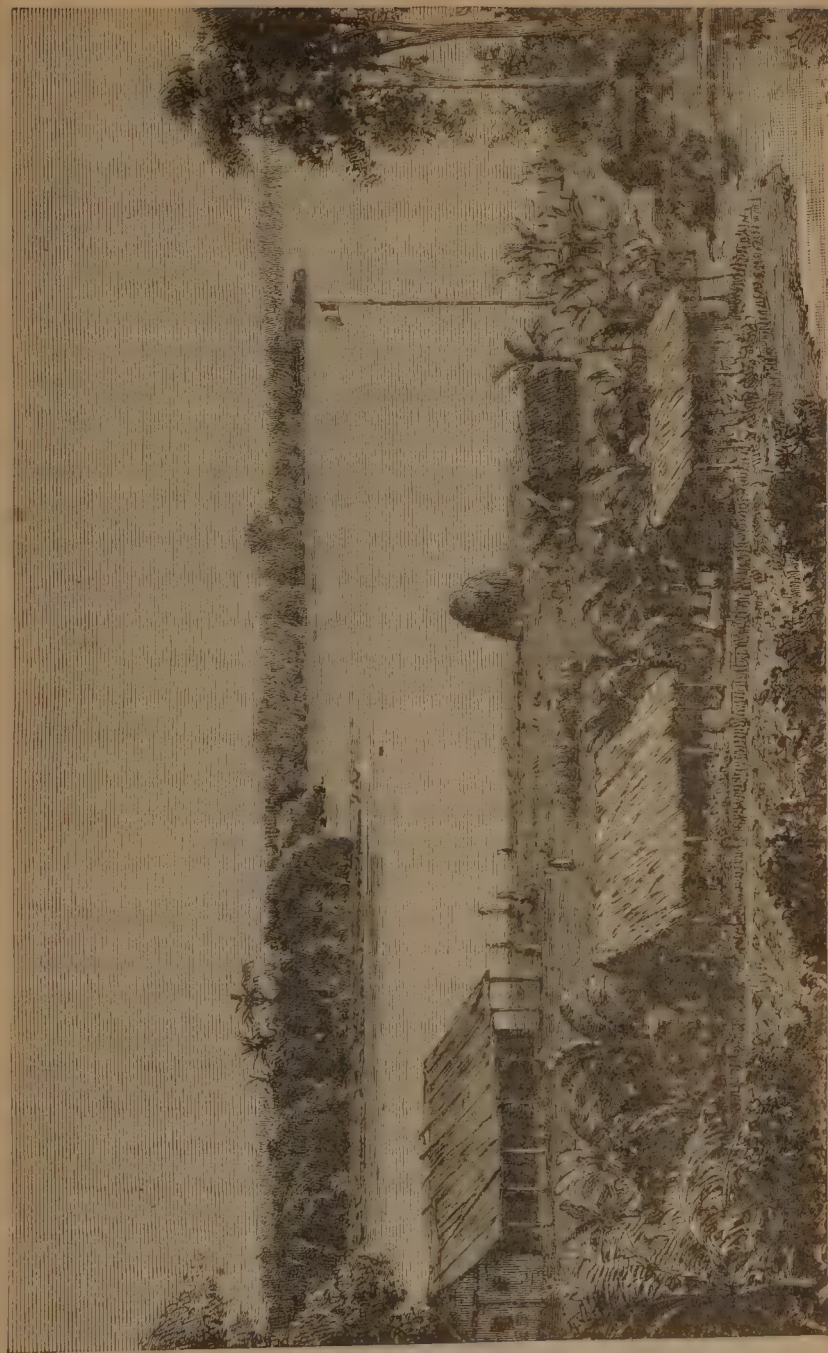
The Berlin Conference (1884).

The Congo Free State.

declared the perpetual neutrality of the new state. Yet it was evident that King Leopold looked forward to the eventual union of the Congo State with Belgium. By his will, in 1889, he made Belgium heir to the Congo State. In the following year the Belgian Government advanced twenty-five million francs for African improvements (mainly the railroad to Stanley Pool), with the condition that after ten years Belgium might annex the Free State ; in 1894 the constitution of Belgium was amended to permit such annexation. The government has never yet foreclosed its mortgage, very likely because it is more convenient to have the Congo governed as a separate state, without bringing it into the parliamentary struggles of the home country.

The exploration of the Congo and the establishment of the authority of the Free State along the great river and its tributaries brought the Belgian officials into hostile contact with the Arab slave-hunters. The methods of these hunters of men were particularly atrocious. Surrounding African villages, they burn and kill and devastate the settlements, leading the survivors off to the slave markets of Khartoum or Zanzibar. Whole tribes have been exterminated and great districts laid waste. In 1885, when the Belgians arrived at Stanley Pool, they found the chief of the slave-hunters, Tippu Tib, already established there. War was inevitable.

It broke out in 1891, and lasted three years. In this time the power of the Arabs was broken ; the slave-hunters were killed off, forced to flee or be taken prisoners. In this campaign the Congo troops, pressing eastward, established the authority of the Free State to the limits imposed by the Berlin Congress. Thus through the creation of the Congo State the original purpose of the African International Association has been accomplished, and the slave-trade, attacked in its hunting-grounds, has been practically abolished.



VIEW ON THE CONGO RIVER.

The International State, opened to all nations alike, as contemplated by the Berlin Conference, has been transformed, in the course of events, into a Belgian colony. But it is not likely that the

The Administration.

Berlin project could have succeeded. Immense expenditures were necessary to open the Congo basin, and it is improbable that King Leopold would have invested his fortune in a project of general interest. The 15,000 miles of navigable river in the Congo basin were of no avail until transportation could be secured from the coast to the cataracts; and for this a railroad must be constructed at a cost of many millions. Into this Leopold and the Belgians have turned their resources. It seems likely to be a good investment, both for king and people. By a decree of 1885 all vacant lands are the domain of the king. The royal revenue from rubber and ivory, amounting to many millions a year, are reinvested by the king in agriculture, in the creation of great plantations, which in later times will be immensely valuable. The same is being done by many chartered Belgian companies.

§ 55. EUROPE IN AFRICA

English influence in Africa has two lines of extension: from the Cape northward; and from Egypt southward toward the sources of the Nile. This has suggested the project of the "Cape to Cairo"

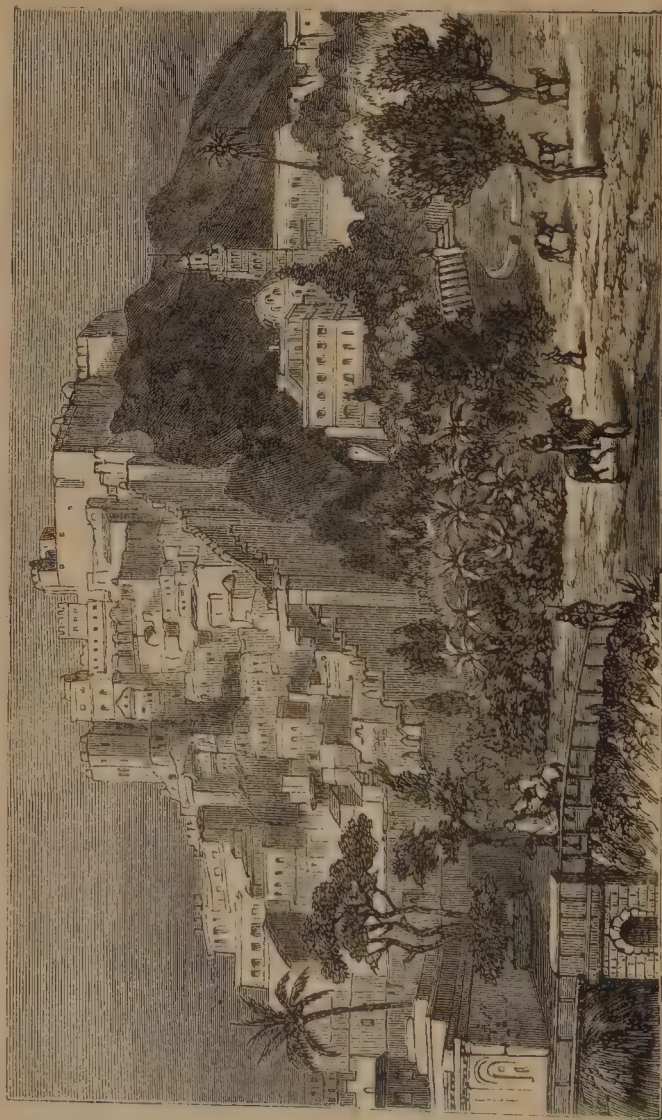
English Possessions.

railway, which, with one exception, the crossing of German East Africa, would traverse territory possessed by or controlled by England. From the Cape the English have passed northward, beyond the Dutch Republics, now, by the issue of the Boer War, included within the sphere of British control, annexing the lands of various native tribes, and incorporating them into British Central Africa, reaching to Lake Tanganyika on the north. British East Africa, with the Island of Zanzibar, assigned

to England by the Congress of 1885, extends to Lake Victoria on the west, and reaches on the north to the Soudanese protectorate. On the West Coast Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast are possessions dating back to slave-trading times, while Nigeria is a recently acquired protectorate.

France began to interest herself in Africa in 1830. Algiers was then a dependency of Turkey, and the Algerian pirates had been for centuries the bane of Mediterranean commerce. In 1827 a quarrel between France and Algiers, arising from an interference with the rights of merchants of Marseilles to engage in the coral fishery off the African coast, resulted in hostilities. Charles X sent an army across the Mediterranean and compelled the capitulation of the city of Algiers. Three weeks later came the Revolution of February, and Louis Philippe became King of the French. The military operations in Algiers continued; in 1837 the city of Constantine was taken and the Turkish garrisons driven from Algiers. The Arabs had next to be reckoned with, the military lords of the country, who had in earlier times conquered the Berbers, or natives of Algiers, but were forced to yield in turn to Turkish rule. Abd-el-Kader, emir of Mascara, roused the Arabs to a holy war against the Christians. Defeated, he retired into Morocco, where he induced the Sultan of Morocco, Abd-er-Rhaman, to declare war against France. Hostilities continued until 1847, when Abd-el-Kader was captured and taken to France, where he was held prisoner until 1853, when he was set at liberty. Turks and Arabs having been subdued, there still remained the original population, the Berbers. Their subjugation was a long and tedious affair; it was not until 1880 that the more distant tribes of the Sahara were finally brought under French rule.

The possession of Algeria led to the occupation of the



ALGIERS, FROM THE PARADE GROUND.

neighboring state of Tunis. The depredations of the Tunisian tribesmen in Algeria was the pretext for French interference; the real motive was the fear of Italian occupation. In 1881, taking advantage of some trifling misunderstanding with the Bey of Tunis, French troops entered the country and imposed upon the Bey the Treaty of Bardo, whereby the French protectorate was recognized. This great French state of North Africa, with Algeria and Tunis on the north, stretches southward across the desert, including Senegal on the West Coast. Reaching to the River Niger on the south, it extends eastward to Lake Tchad, including a rich and populous country, the last of Africa to be contended for by the Powers. At Lake Tchad the spheres of French and English influence meet. During the troubles in the Soudan the French explorer, Marchand, penetrated eastward into the valley of the upper Nile, then lost to Egypt, and defeated a band of Dervishes at Fashoda. Here Marchand met the English column advancing southward, and, yielding to orders from France, gave way. An Anglo-French convention in the following year defined the boundary between English and French protectorates. The Marchand incident may be regarded as a French protest against the English occupation of Egypt (ever a sore point with France), but the French Government was not prepared to carry the protest to a point of hostilities.

France also possesses settlements on the West Coast, French Congo and Dahomey; but next to French North

Madagascar. Africa her most important African colony is

the island of Madagascar. In 1638, in the reign of Louis XIII, Fort Dauphin was founded at the south end of the island; but French interests developed slowly. In 1868 the queen of the Hovas, a tribe of Malay origin, inhabiting the table-lands of Central Madagascar, was converted by English missionaries, whose influence was hostile to the French. In 1878 war broke out with

the Hovas, and continued with some interruptions until 1895, when an expedition was sent from France, which occupied Tananarive, the Hovas capital, and Queen Ranavalao was exiled to the island of Réunion. Slavery has been abolished in Madagascar and efforts made to encourage education and industry.

The Germans were also desirous of African possessions. Coming late into the field, they have found little opportunity for colonial expansion; the Indies were occupied; American colonization prohibited by the Monroe Doctrine; only Africa remained. The Congress of Berlin gave to Germany: German East Africa, between Zanzibar and Lake Tanganyika; Southwest Africa, or the regions of Damara and Namaquas, north of the Orange River; the Cameroons, at the foot of the Gulf of Guinea; and Togo, between the English Gold Coast and French Dahomey. The Germans have not shown as yet a marked ability for colonial enterprises. Of the thousands of Germans who migrate every year from the Fatherland, the greater part are still seeking their homes under foreign flags.

Italy, arriving late, but wishing to take a hand in the partition of Africa, seized the territory about Massoura on the Red Sea, and sought to create the colony of Erythræa, with a protectorate over the Kingdom of Abyssinia. The task proved difficult beyond her expectations. In 1896 her troops were annihilated by the army of the Abyssinian king, Menelik, and Italy's colonial ardor was quenched for the time. She has established a protectorate on the Indian Ocean over the land of the Somalis, and still holds Massowa and the neighboring territory.

Portugal, once mistress of Africa, still possesses important colonies, unprogressive and badly governed. On the West Coast she has Portuguese Guinea, and Angola, south of the mouth of the Congo; on the East Coast,

Mozambique, stretching southward from German East Africa along the coast opposite Madagascar, including the port of Lorenzo Marques, important as the entrance to the Transvaal from the sea. The Portuguese had hopes of uniting Angola and Mozambique, and thus forming a belt across Africa ; but the English have extended their holdings northward from the Cape, cutting away the " Hinterland " of Portugal and confining her to the coast.

Spain's possessions in Africa are few. Opposite the Canaries she has a strip, whose back country extends indefinitely into the Desert of Sahara. In the Gulf of Guinea she has the island of Fernando Po and some small settlements on the main. She looks, however, upon Morocco as her eventual share of Africa, if France ever should allow her to take it, and the Powers permit its appropriation.

CHAPTER XIX

The Far East

§ 56. CHINA AND JAPAN

BEFORE the middle of the nineteenth century the great oriental nations of China and Japan were outside the range of European politics. China had been for centuries, it is true, a field for missionaries and traders. The Chinese are essentially a commercial people, and their teas and silks have long been known in western markets. For purposes of trade Europeans were permitted to establish settlements along the coast, and many ports upon the sea and on the great navigable rivers have been opened for trade, often with force, and always against the desire of the exclusive Celestials. China, however, with her ancient and highly developed civilization, has resisted the introduction of western ideas and has clung tenaciously to her established customs. Her people have migrated into all the lands bordering upon the Pacific Ocean, and given evidence of their ability to compete successfully with other nations in commerce and industry, everywhere preserving their racial characteristics.

Japanese history has been very different. Satisfied with her institutions, and fearful of the intrusion of foreigners, she remained until the middle of the nineteenth century a sealed empire. This policy she was able to carry out successfully, on account of her compact political organization, whereas China is little more than a group of eighteen semi-independent provinces, feebly held together by the imperial power at Peking.



FUSIYAMA, SACRED MOUNTAIN OF JAPAN.

Japan's early experience with the Spanish and Portuguese strengthened her policy of exclusion, and led her to cut herself off utterly from intercourse with the western world. A law of 1637 prohibited all natives of Japan from leaving their country, and visited with the penalty of death any attempt to open communication with foreigners. For over two centuries the only connection of Japan with the outside world was through a little settlement of Dutch merchants, permitted to occupy, under conditions which practically made them prisoners, an island in the harbor of Nagasaki.

In 1852 the government of the United States resolved to establish, by force, if necessary, diplomatic and trade relations with Japan. In the following year Perry and Japan. Commodore Perry entered the harbor of Yedo with four war vessels, and presented a letter to the regent (or *Tai-kun*), whom he took to be the emperor. Returning in 1854 for his answer, he overawed the Yedo authorities with his show of force and extracted a treaty, which permitted the establishment of trade, and resulted in the opening of the ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate. The European powers quickly followed, and treaties were signed with England, Russia, and France.

The foreign policy of the *Tai-kun* was resented by the conservative elements of the Japanese people, who viewed with fear the prospect of a foreign invasion. Outrages upon foreign representatives and merchants followed, and these were promptly punished with the bombardment of Japanese ports by American and European fleets, and by the exaction of indemnities. A change of feeling toward foreigners gradually came about, largely through the influence of young Japanese, who visited Europe and America and discovered that the western nations had no other than pacific intentions toward Japan. Upon their return they communicated this to their people and eventually dispelled their fears.

Meanwhile the intercourse with foreigners and the education of young men abroad were working great changes in the national spirit. The sacred emperor, the "Child of Heaven," had for centuries been a recluse, and all powers vested in the regent. In 1868 the progressive party brought the emperor from retirement, and after severe fighting established his personal power. Mutsuhito inclined toward western



JAPANESE INFAN-
TRYMAN.

ideas. He began the new régime by transferring his residence from Kyoto to Yedo, changing the name of the latter city to Tokyo, the "Eastern Capital." Foreigners were welcomed; many young men were sent abroad to be educated; a new military system was introduced, with railroads, telegraphs, and schools; society was revolutionized with the abolition of feudalism. In 1882 an imperial decree established a constitution with representative government. The manner in which Japan has taken on a western civilization and made it in all respects effective is the wonder of the century.

Corea, the "Hermit Kingdom," lies near to Japan, and is a market for Japanese products. Traditionally Corea is a dependency of China, although independent in her internal affairs, and governed, in a wretched manner, by a king. Russia, on the north, looks with envious eyes upon the Corean peninsula, as rounding out the Asiatic Empire of the Tsar on the Pacific. Russia and China were combined to oppose the Japanese influence in Corea.

In 1894 a rebellion broke out in Corea, and the king called upon China for aid. Japan resented the interference of China, and sent troops to offset the Chinese intervention. War was the result; the Chinese troops were rapidly driven

The Chinese-
Japanese War.

from Corea, and the war carried into China. The Japanese troops, finely disciplined and equipped, met little resistance from the ill-formed Chinese levies. Peking was threatened; China sued for peace, and Li-Hung-Chang, a noted Chinese statesman, was sent to Japan to arrange the conditions. China acknowledged the independence of Corea, ceded to Japan the island of Formosa, the Liao-tung peninsula on the coast of China, and agreed to pay a great indemnity. But Russia, France, and Germany intervened and prevented the cession of any portion of the mainland of China to Japan. Under one pretext or another the western powers took for themselves the strategic points on the Gulf of Pechili, which they had denied to Japan. Russia took Port Arthur, gaining a southern terminus for her Trans-Siberian railroad; England, seeking



A TYPICAL
BOXER.



EMPEROR OF CHINA.
(Alleged portrait.)

always to check Russian advance in the Orient, took the port of Weihai-wei, across the Gulf from Port Arthur; and Germany, seeking reparation for the murder of some missionaries by the Chinese, seized upon the harbor and neighborhood of Kiao-tcheou. Thus, on the Chinese coast, spheres of European influence have been established, and the way opened for an eventual dismemberment of the Celestial Empire.

In 1900 a wave of anti-foreign feeling swept over China, the result in part of the seizure of Chinese territory by the western Powers. A patriotic society, called the "Boxers," sought to exterminate the Occidentals and

put an end to the invasion of western influences, which have always been unwelcome, and which seem to threaten, with railroads and new religions, the ancient civilization of the "Middle Kingdom." Missionaries were massacred and the foreign embassies at Peking besieged. A joint army of the Powers (of which the United States was one) was sent to the relief of the embassies, and after much effort Peking was reached and sacked, and the ambassadors and their families rescued. The Chinese Government sued for peace, and consented to make apologies and pay a huge indemnity. In 1902 England and Japan formed an alliance for the preservation of the territories of China and Corea, an act which is likely to check for a time the dismemberment of the "Middle Kingdom."

The Boxers.

§ 57. RUSSIA IN ASIA

In the reign of Ivan the Terrible the Cossack leader, Irmak, at the head of 850 men crossed into Asia, and, traversing the immense forests of Tobol, defeated the Tartar Khan and took Sibir, his capital. Thus a new crown, that of Siberia, was added to the crown of Russia. In the seventeenth century the progress of annexation carried the Russians to the Pacific Ocean and to Lake Baikal in the south. The peninsula of Kamtchatka was annexed in 1707. Up to this time the Asiatic possessions were of small importance to Russia; the northern portion of Siberia is too cold for habitation, except by Arctic tribes.

Formation of the Russian Empire.

The eighteenth century added little to Asiatic Russia. The Kirgis Tartars acknowledged the sovereignty of the Tsar, and Russia was rid of a race of fierce robbers, who lived by the plunder of caravans, and barred the way to the East; but their territory is a desert waste.

The nineteenth century saw a wide extension of the Asiatic Empire. In 1801 the Tsar Paul, an enthusiastic

admirer of Napoleon, planned a campaign against the English in India, and crossed the Caucasus and annexed Georgia. This was the beginning of the Russian province of Caucasia, where subsequent annexations (Mingrelia, 1803, to Kars, 1877), have built up the most populous and flourishing section of Asiatic Russia. The soil is productive; there are mines of copper, lead, and coal, a district of oil-wells at Baku on the Caspian, and the people are civilized and industrious.



THE MOSQUE OF THE PALACE OF KHIVA.

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the extension of Russian power into the southwest of Asia, in the direction of Afghanistan and India. Turkestan was made a Russian province in 1865, a sterile land, except in the valleys of the rivers. The conquest of one Tartar tribe led to further warfare, until the whole country had been absorbed down to the independent state of Afghanistan. Here lay some of the most fertile tracts of Western Asia. The Khanate of Bokhara, taken in 1868, is the richest of the Asiatic lands of Russia, with a population of two and a half millions.

The Khanate of Khiva, taken in 1873, is smaller, with a population of 700,000. The people are Mohammedan. It has been the policy of Russia to hold these great Khanates as vassal states. This saves the friction and expense of military occupation, and yet insures to Russia the advantages of trade. Surrounded on all sides by Russian garrisons, the Khanates are thoroughly subdued.

In 1880 a new expedition under General Skobeloff subdued the Turkomans south and east of the Caspian, took Merv in 1881 and completed the subjugation of Turkestan.



MONGOLS.

A railway, started from Krasnovodsk on the east shore of the Caspian, runs southeast by way of Merv to Bokhara, Sarmakand, and Tashkend, passing along the northern border of Afghanistan and reaching at one point, Kuskh, to within eighty miles of Herat, the "Gate of India." Between Russian Turkestan and India lies the "buffer state" of Afghanistan, which Russia threatens with her railroad and her chain of fortresses on the northern border.

Here, and in Persia on the west, Russian and English influences struggle for control. There are frequent rumors of a Russian railway extension across Persia to the Persian Gulf. This would give Russia access to the Indian Ocean, where a Russian fleet would prove an additional menace to the English power in India. Apart from this, Russia has no doubt given peace and the prospect of advancement to southwestern Asia.

Having reached the limits of her present extension on the borders of Afghanistan and Persia, the later activity of Russia in Asia has been directed toward the extreme East, at the expense of the northern provinces of the Chi-



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|---|--|---|--|--|
| FRENCH | BRITISH | RUSSIAN | CHINESE | GERMAN |
| DUTCH | NATIVE STATES | UNITED STATES | AFGHANISTAN | TURKISH |
| | OMAN | | BHUTAN | JAPANESE |

nese Empire. The Treaty of Peking, 1860, secured to Russia all that former Chinese territory north of the Amur River, together with the maritime province of Ussuri. Here Russia looks across the sea to Japan and joins Corea on the south. This was a better outlet to the Pacific than the frozen waters of Okhotsh ; but the southernmost harbor of Ussuri, Vladivostok, is still too icebound for a perfect har-

The Chinese
Border.



VIEW OF TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

bor, and Russia continued to scheme for an outlet into warmer seas.

Meanwhile the great Trans-Siberian Railway was projected and begun by Alexander III. This vast system of railway, connecting St. Petersburg with Vladivostok, has been pushed forward with great energy, until it is now nearing completion. The threatened break-up of China, the result of the war with Japan, gave an opportunity for a more southerly terminus. In the scramble of Russia, Germany, and England for Chinese ports Russia secured Port Arthur, on the Gulf of Pechili. An agreement between the courts of Peking and St. Petersburg has given

Russia a free hand in Manchuria, and permission to construct a southern branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria, under the name of the "Eastern Chinese Railway." This concession, with a rendezvous for the Russian fleet at the terminus, Port Arthur (or Dalny), gives Russia a fine naval and commercial base on the Pacific. Strategically, its advantages are limited somewhat, perhaps, by the English occupation of the port of Wei-hai-wei, directly across the mouth of the Gulf of Pechili.

These two great powers, England and Russia, have marched across Asia side by side, Russia on the north, England on the south, a zone of high mountains and deserts between them. On the west of Asia their interests clash in Persia and Afghanistan; on the east, in China. France, with her colonies of Tonking and Annam on the south, bars the way to English advance along the southern line into China. The newly risen power of Japan will have something to say, before she sees her Chinese cousins become the vassals of distant western powers. Already we have the whisperings of an Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine" of "Asia for the Asiatics." But China is to-day the check-board of European diplomacy. She is being pushed unwillingly along the path of progress. It will be interesting to see under what guidance and with whose aid she will accommodate herself to western ideas and methods.

England and
Russia in Asia.

CHAPTER XX

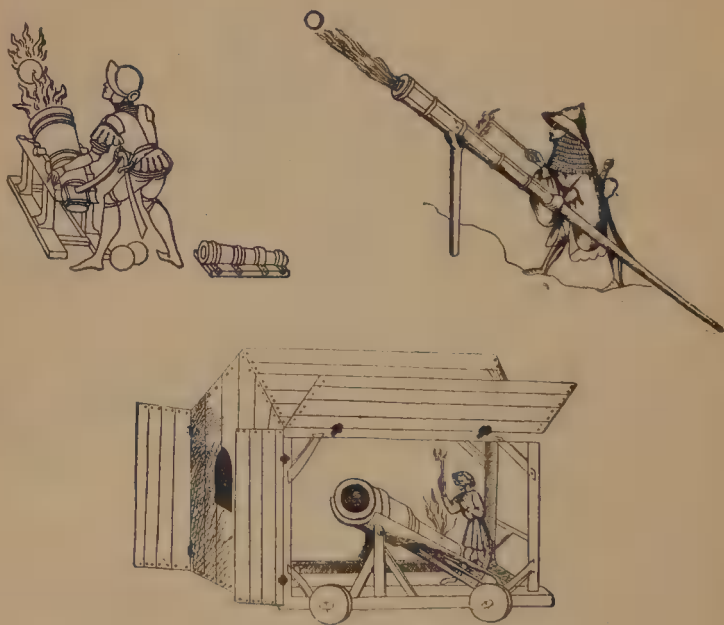
Material Progress

§ 58. THE ART OF WAR

IN the Middle Ages the mounted knight, clad in armor, with lance and sword, decided the issue of battle. But little was thought of the foot soldier; war was the business of nobles, and the task of the peasant and the artisan was to labor for the support of the gentleman-at-arms. The medieval battle had no element of strategy; no effort to take advantage of the character of the country, its hills and valleys, for superior position. Indeed, the principles of chivalry rather indicated that the opposing armies should meet in a "fair field," without advantage to either host. The battle was a judgment of God, and, when each commander was assured of the justice of his cause, there was no need of seeking a superior position. The opposing armies rode furiously at each other, and the clash of lances and the ensuing play of swords determined victory.

Modern times have revolutionized the art of war with the introduction of foot soldiers. They came from two sources: the English archer, with his long-bow and cloth-yard shaft emptied the saddles of the French knights in the battles of the Hundred Years' War; but a more important factor was the phalanx of Swiss pikemen, against whom the armed knights dashed themselves in vain. The success of the Swiss made them sought for by all princes, and their presence decided many battles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Meanwhile their methods were adopted, with some improvements, by the Germans and the

Spanjards. Behind the rows of defensive pikes were placed men with swords and other weapons of offense. When the horsemen had been routed with the pikes, the front rows parted and let through the swordsmen, who finished with the defenseless cavalry. The day of the knight was over, and infantry became the important branch in warfare.



EARLY CANNON.

The use of gunpowder gradually supplanted the bow and cross-bow. Siege-guns were earlier adopted than explosive hand-arms. The great weight of the ancient arquebus, which made it necessary to carry a forked iron for a rest, limited its use. The complicated mechanism of the later wheel-lock and the firelock retarded their introduction. In the sixteenth century might be seen, side by side, the bow, the arquebus, and the mechanical cross-bow, the arbalest.

Firearms,

The musket was the arquebus, somewhat shortened and reduced in weight, without the fork. They were made with both wheel and match-locks. In the seventeenth century bands of musketeers were reinforced with pikemen; having fired their shot, the musketeers retired behind the pikemen who guarded them from attack during the tedious process of reloading. In 1664 the French borrowed the paper cartridge from the Spaniards, who seem to have been the military inventors of the time. About 1630, the flint-lock was known in Italy; but it did not supplant the musket until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The bayonet

came about the same time. For over a hun-

dred years the flint-lock held its place in the armies of Europe. In the eighteenth century, although much progress was made in the science of war, in the organization of battles and the direction of sieges, little was accomplished in the improvement of weapons. The great wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon were fought with the flint-lock. At a time when the mind of all



ARQUEBUS, 1559.



ARBALEST.

Europe was centered upon war, science and invention made no contribution. The battles of Napoleon were won

by the superior mobility of his troops, "with the legs of his soldiers." To this must be added the immense enthu-



SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MATCHLOCK.

siasm which animated a democratic army, in which any man, with bravery and ability, might win a marshal's *baton*.

During the first half of the century progress

was not rapid. To

Nineteenth century. be sure, the

invention of the percussion cap made possible a lighter and more reliable weapon; but in military science the period was relatively barren. The Crimean War was a lamentable failure to feed, clothe, and otherwise provide for

large bodies of men at a distance from the base of supplies. The Italian campaign of Napoleon III, with its battles of Magenta and Solferino, was a contest of brute force, the hurling of great bodies of men against each other, without ability to foresee the outcome. The carnage was so terrible that Napoleon dared not proceed to the conquest of Venetia.

But military science was growing; the Prussian school of von Moltke placed war upon a scientific basis. With a perfectly drilled and equipped army, and a knowledge of the enemies' country, war became a great game of strategy. Invention came to the aid of the Prussians. In 1847 the needle-gun, a breech-loading weapon, using a metallic cartridge, was adopted. After the Prussian victory over Austria this weapon became, under various

forms—Chassepot, Mauser, Martini—the weapon of Europe. The breech-loading principle applied to cannon worked a similar revolution. Since 1880 the great makers of ordnance, Armstrong, Krupp, Creusot, have vied with each other in the production of rapid, long-range cannon. The discovery of new and powerful explosives has added much to the efficacy of these new weapons. Nitro-glycerine, dynamite, and other similar compounds have a destructive force much greater than gunpowder.



SHIP OF WAR, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Smokeless powder has made possible a lighter gun, a smaller ball, and longer range. New explosives—melanite, roburite, and the like—have replaced gunpowder for use in high-power artillery.

Since the invention of the high explosives, and since the states of Europe have become, with the introduction of the Prussian system of compulsory military service, great armed camps, no war between powerful nations has taken place. The idea of such a war is frightful ; and in

the minds of many, this universal armament and invention, by making war so hideous, paves the way for peace; and this is at least to be hoped.

In naval warfare, as well, the nineteenth century has brought about great changes. The American War of the

Naval warfare.

Rebellion produced a new type of armored vessel, which rapidly took the place of the old wooden war-ship. Instead of great wooden forts, modern navies are made up of complicated steel mechanisms, filled with wonderful devices, set in motion by steam and electricity. England leads the world in the number and variety of these formidable engines of marine warfare, and she is closely followed by the other great nations. Of late the effort of invention has been toward the perfection of submarine, torpedo-bearing craft. Of all these the real efficacy is unknown. No trial of strength has yet taken place between two modern navies. The events of the Chinese War and of the Spanish-American War were but naval skirmishes, viewed with intense interest by naval experts of all nations. The modern naval battle has yet to be fought.

§ 59. INVENTION

The nineteenth century was especially prolific in invention. The sciences, which up to that time were largely

Steam.

the playthings of philosophers, became in the nineteenth century the sources whence came innumerable inventions, tending to increase the wealth and comfort of mankind. The practical arts have been so revolutionized that "the distance is much greater between the industrial processes of the eighteenth century and those of the present day than between those of the eighteenth century and the ancient arts, even those of Egypt."

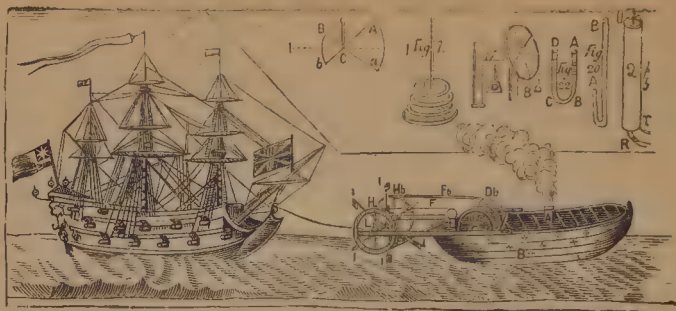
Between 1790 and 1815 the English used water-power for driving their spinning and weaving machinery. The

use of steam as a motive-power, the invention of Watt, improved by the American, Oliver Evans, and by others, came into use soon after. The steam engine has been put to three great uses: the stationary engine, first used in mines, now replaces animal, wind, and water power in the manufacture of goods of all kinds, and in agricultural operations, such as threshing; secondly, it is used for propelling steamboats; and, thirdly, it furnishes the motive power for land transportation (railways).

The idea of applying steam to transportation seems to have haunted the minds of many men at the close of the eighteenth century. The practical solution, however, is attributed to the American, Fulton, whose steamboat successfully navigated the Hudson River in 1807. In 1814 the Savannah, an American steamship, crossed from Savannah to Liverpool in twenty-five days, six more than was required by fast sailing vessels; in 1821 the "Enterprise," an English steamship, made the voyage to India in forty-five days. In 1838 the first screw-propeller boat was built in England, and from this time on the propeller began to take the place of side-wheels for deep-water navigation. England has led the nations of the world in the manufacture and use of steam vessels, although of late the German builders have produced some of the swiftest ocean "liners." Iron and steel have replaced wood in the construction of steamships.

The railway, like other great inventions, came gradually. In 1800 Evans propelled a car with steam in the streets of Philadelphia; but his experiment aroused little interest. In England the idea was taken up, and in 1812 Stephenson constructed a machine somewhat resembling the locomotive of to-day. For several years the locomotive was used for hauling coal-cars from the mines. In 1839 the first steam passenger train ran from Liverpool to Manchester. Railroad lines were rapidly constructed in Europe and America, and now they have become a necessary ele-

Steam
transportation.



Hull's Steamboat, 1736.



Fitch's First Boat, 1737.

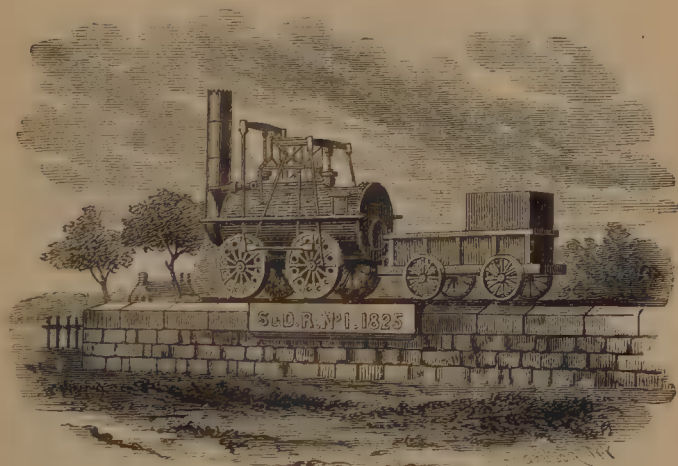


The Clermont, 1807.

EARLY PROJECTS OF STEAM NAVIGATION.

ment in our lives. Great lines of railway traverse both hemispheres from Atlantic to Pacific, and a Trans-Saharan line is the dream of French engineers.

The employment of electricity is a triumph of the second half of the nineteenth century. It has been adapted to the electric telegraph, to the telephone, to electric lighting, and to the propulsion of vehicles. Before 1850 the aerial telegraph, a method of signaling with semaphores, from hilltop to hilltop, was

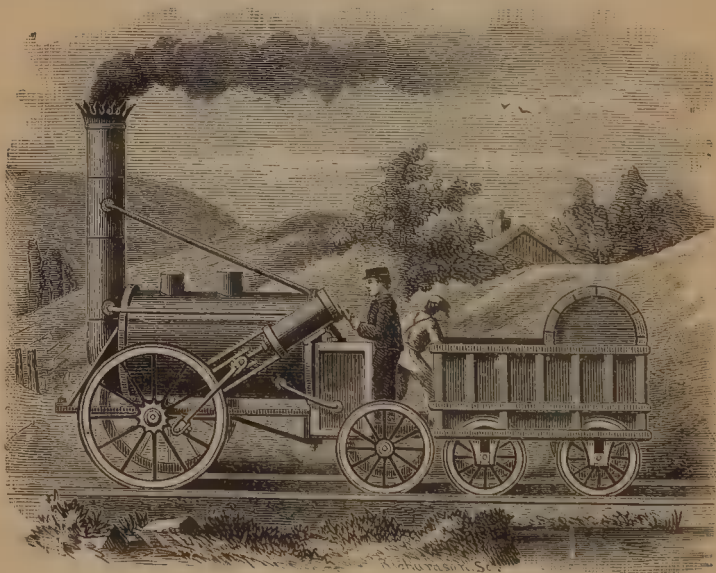


STEPHENSON'S NO. 1 ENGINE, 1825.

the most rapid means of transferring intelligence. Between 1833 and 1838 the principle of electric telegraphy occupied the attention of physicists in France, Germany, and England, when Morse discovered a method by which messages could be transmitted along one wire. After 1850 the electric telegraph came into general use. In 1851 the first submarine telegraph cable was laid between Dover and Calais: and a transatlantic cable in 1857. Now all parts of the world, the Indies and Australia, are connected with Europe and America. The telephone is an invention of the end of the century, competing with the telegraph for

long-distance land lines, but of greater utility for local communication.

The discovery of the electric light goes back to the beginning of the century, but it was not until the end of the century that a satisfactory electric lamp was produced. Edison and Swann perfected this apparatus about 1881, and since that time electric lighting has been one of the features of town life. The use of electricity for the pro-



THE "ROCKET," 1829

pulsion of street-cars has resulted in the general substitution of this power in the place of draft animals, to the great convenience of the public. Electricity has also been adapted to the automobile, or horseless carriage, where it competes with steam and gas as a motive force.

Among the agents of enlightenment which have benefited from invention is the newspaper. The introduction of the steam press (*London Times*, 1814), together with the cheapening of the cost of paper, has brought the news-

paper within the reach of all. In the early years of the nineteenth century the daily newspaper was a luxury re-

served for subscribers of the middle class ;

The Newspaper. but now the use of the newspaper has become so general that the formality of subscription has in most instances given way to a daily or semi-daily purchase by all classes of the urban population.

The wide circulation of the newspaper among all classes has made it an important political agent. It brings the government into contact with the people, making unnecessary the formal posting of proclamations and laws, as was formerly done ; it also brings the people into contact with the government, enabling the dissatisfaction of the people with the acts of government to find expression, and making unnecessary the old right of petition, so strongly insisted upon in earlier times as an important element of popular liberty.

The growing importance of industry, as compared with agriculture, has had its effect upon the distribution of

Effects of industry. population. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the bulk of the population was rural ; few cities had a population of more than 50,000. New industries, which centered in the cities, in order to secure the advantages of transportation and exchange, brought together there workmen and commercial employees in thousands. In England, where industry has made the greatest encroachment upon agriculture, more than three-fourths of the population is urban.

The contribution of chemistry to modern progress has been very great. It has revolutionized agriculture in the

Chemistry. use of chemical fertilizers ; it has given us matches, beet-sugar, preserved foods, and

photography, together with a thousand other benefits. From a new natural product it has separated a great number of valuable substances. In Germany the manufacture of coal-tar products adds \$60,000,000 yearly to the national

wealth. With the biological sciences, it has given us anesthetics, which render surgery painless; antiseptics, which facilitate the cure of diseases; and the two seem likely to ameliorate and prolong the duration of human life.

§ 60. PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

At the beginning of modern times society was organized on a basis of birth; a man was and remained noble, burgher, or peasant, according to the condition of his parents. A few men of the superior classes, who were called "well-born," monopolized the good things of earth, and possessed themselves of the offices of wealth and distinction, by virtue of their birth. They controlled public affairs and gave to society its form. Such a society is called an aristocracy.

Little by little the aristocratic form of society became subject to criticism. We find it attacked with vigor by the "philosophers" of the eighteenth century. A numerous and able class of men were coming forward, the "middle class," enriched with trade, and more closely in touch with the changing needs of society than the aristocrats, who were too well satisfied with themselves and with their conditions to wish for, or even tolerate, change. The resistance of the aristocracy to the spirit of democracy in France resulted in their overwhelming defeat. In other countries, where the revolution was more gradual, they have little by little ceased to be a factor of importance. In England, in Hungary, and in some German states they still retain slight privileges of birth, but even here their pretensions provoke amusement rather than alarm.

The word "democracy" is no longer restricted to its original meaning of a direct government by the people. It has come to be used to designate a society free from the distinctions of birth. It is not necessarily associated with

a republic ; the French empires were democratic monarchies.

In the political field the democratic spirit demands that all men shall be equal before the law ; that in matters of justice and taxation or of military duty no distinction based on rank or position shall be known ; that all offices of the state shall be open to all persons alike, who are able to give evidence of their fitness ; that there shall be no bar to the entrance of all persons into the various occupations, professional, commercial, and industrial. This freedom of opportunity, declared by the French Revolution and largely realized in the Empire of Napoleon the Great, has now become general in Europe and America. Universal military service is an application of this principle to one side of modern life, and it is further safeguarded in the reformed civil-service establishments of all progressive nations.

The democratic spirit is not satisfied, however, with its victories in the political field. No sooner had a reasonable degree of political liberty been won than the struggle was begun for economic liberty and well-being. The system of manufacture on a large scale, as it developed during the nineteenth century, aided by steam and by improved means of transportation, divided the persons interested into two classes : the capitalists and the laborers. These two classes began to array themselves against each other about the middle of the century. The feeling of the laborer, who earned so little that he lived from hand to mouth, and was ruined, if he lost his employment, was that he received too small a portion of the product for his share ; and that the capitalist-employer, who lived in much more agreeable circumstances, and accumulated wealth, received too much ; and no amount of explanation on the part of economic philosophers could convince him that he ought to bear his lot with patience and humility.

Political
democracy.

Economic
democracy.

Out of this dissatisfaction of the laborers grew several parties, who sought to establish a juster division of the product of toil. In England, where progress has ever been conservative, the effort toward solution took the form of an organization of labor into unions. These unions, by strikes and other means of coercion, have achieved much for the laborer in the way of bettering his condition. Capital, opposed by organized labor, has been obliged to yield much. Labor legislation, by reducing the hours of labor, and forbidding in many instances the competition of women and children, is an expression of the democratic spirit.

In France, where men have ever been most daring in experimenting with the structure of society, the movement took at first the form of socialism. Impatient of winning their way inch by inch with the organization of labor, certain theorists of the labor party advised a short cut to the desired end, by means of a thorough reconstruction of industry. The state was to become the sole capitalist and employer of labor, dividing among the producers the whole product of their labor. The experience of the Revolution of February discouraged this idea in France; but a similar scheme, more carefully prepared, was advanced by Lasalle and Marx in Germany twenty years later. Out of their writings has grown the Social-Democratic party in Germany. The deputies of this party in the imperial Reichstag have increased in number from two in 1871 to fifty-six in 1898. The Social-Democratic party demands that the "instruments of labor—factories, mines, railroads, etc.—shall cease to be the property of individuals and shall become the general property of the nation."

Here we have outlined the two chief methods that have been devised for arriving at economic democracy. Which of them, if either, shall bring about the desired condition is a problem the solution of which lies in the future.

The desire for a democratic society has been a strong stimulus toward universal education, as likely to break down one of the obstacles in the way of a more democratic organization of society.

Formerly a private or family affair, education is now regarded as one of the most important functions of the state.

Formerly education was under the supervision of the church ; but, like many of the functions of society (poor relief, for example), it has now been transferred to the state, in order that it may have a more general enforcement. In many of the German states instruction is obligatory ; so also in Switzerland, Scandinavia, France (since 1882), and in many of the States of the American Union.

A noticeable feature of the nineteenth century is the increase in wealth. All classes now dispose of an amount

of money per capita that would have seemed fabulous to the men of a century ago. Many things which then were luxuries, to be obtained only by the more fortunate, such as sugar, chocolate, books, silks, and musical instruments, are now in general use, together with a hundred other things of later invention. The manual laborer of to-day has more luxuries, more opportunities for enjoyment and for mental culture than the middle classes in the year 1800. More than all this, he has in many ways, political and social, his own and his children's future in his hands.

France.	Spain (and Portugal).	Italy.	Germany.
Bull <i>Unam Sanctam</i> , 1302.		Dante, 1265-1321. Petrarch, 1304-1374. Residence of Popes at Avignon, 1309-1377.	Lewis of Bavaria declares Empire independent of Papacy, 1338. Golden Bull, 1356.
Hundred Years War, 1346-1453.		Great Schism of the West, 1378-1417. Council of Pisa, 1409. Council of Constance, 1414-1418. Election of Pope Martin V, 1417. Council of Basel, 1431.	
Death of Joan of Arc, 1431.		Cosimo de Medici, 1434-1464.	Execution of John Huss, 1415. Hussite wars, 1419-1436.
English driven out of France (Calais), 1453.	Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, 1469. Diaz rounds Cape of Good Hope, 1486. Grenada taken, 1492. Jews exiled, 1492. Discovery of America, 1492.		Albert of Austria, Emperor, 1498. Frederick III, Emp., 1440-1493. Maximilian marries Mary, heiress of Burgundy, 1477.
Charles VIII invades Italy, 1494. Louis XII invades Italy, 1500.	Vasco da Gama opens route to Indies, 1497.	Death of Lorenzo de Medici (Lorenzo the Magnificent), 1492.	Erasmus, 1467-1536. Maximilian I, Emp., 1493-1519.

LEADING EVENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Spain.	France.	Germany.	England.
Charles, grandson of Maximilian, King of Spain as Charles I, 1516.	John Calvin, born 1509; died (in Geneva), 1564.	Martin Luther, 1483-1546.	Henry VIII, 1509-1547.
Voyage of Magellan, 1519-1522.	Francis I, 1515-1547.	The Ninety-five Theses, 1517. Election of Charles V, 1519. Diet of Worms, 1521. Diet of Augsburg; Schmalkaldic League, 1530.	
Organization of Society of Jesus by Loyola, 1534.	Henry II, 1547-1559.	Death of Luther, 1546.	Act of Royal Supremacy, 1534.
Philip II, 1556-1598.	Francis II, 1559-1560 = Mary Stewart.	Schmalkaldic War, 1546-1547. Council of Trent (intermittent), 1545-1563.	Edward VI, 1547-1553. Mary, 1553-1558.
Seven United Provinces war against Philip, 1579.	Charles IX, 1560-1574.	Peace of Augsburg, 1555.	Elizabeth, 1558-1603.
Declare independence; birth of Dutch Republic, 1581.	St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572.	Abdication of Charles V, 1556. Death of Charles V, 1558.	
	Henry III, 1574-1589.	Ferdinand I, Emperor, 1556-1564.	
Defeat of Armada; decline of Spain, 1588.	Henry IV (of France and Navarre), 1589-1610. Edict of Nantes, 1598.		Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, 1587. The Invincible Armada, 1588.
			East India Company, 1600.

LEADING EVENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

LEADING EVENTS

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France.	Germany.	Russia and Sweden.	England.
Henry IV murdered, 1610.			James I, 1603-1625.
Louis XIII, 1610-1643.	Thirty Years War, 1618-1648 :	Romanoffs in Russia, 1613.	Charles I, 1625-1649.
Ministry of Richelieu, 1624-1642.	1. Period of War in Bohemia, 1618-1623.	Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, 1611-1632.	Petition of Right, 1628.
Louis XIV, 1643-1715.	2. Danish Period, 1625-1629.		Long Parliament, 1640-1660.
Ministry of Mazarin, 1643-1661.	3. Swedish Period, 1630 - 1635.		Civil War, 1642-1649.
	Battle of Lützen ; death of Gustavus Adolphus, 1632.		Execution of Charles I, 1649.
	4. Period of French Intervention, 1635-1648.		The Parliamentary Republic, 1649-1653.
	Peace of Westphalia, 1648.		
Ministry of Colbert, 1661-1682.	The Great Elector of Brandenburg, 1640-1688.	Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, 1682 (under regency until 1689)-1725.	The Protectorate, 1653-1659.
		Charles XII of Sweden. 1697-1718.	Death of Oliver Cromwell, 1658.
Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 1685.		Peter the Great visits England, 1698.	The Restoration, 1660.
			Charles II, 1660-1685.
			James II, 1685-1688.
			The Revolution, 1688.
			William III, 1689-1702.

LEADING EVENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

France.	Prussia and Austria.	Russia and Sweden.	England.
Louis XV, 1715-1774.	Electeur of Brandenburg crowned King of Prussia as Frederick I. 1701.	Charles XII defeats the Russians, Battle of Narva, 1700; conquers Poland, 1703.	Anne, 1702-1714.
Rousseau, 1670-1741.	Frederick William I, King of Prussia, 1713-1740.	Peter the Great founds St. Petersburg, 1703.	George I, 1714-1727.
Voltaire, 1694-1778.	Maria Theresa, Empress, 1740-1780.	Defeat of Charles XII, Pultowa, 1709.	George II, 1727-1760.
Social Contract of Rousseau, 1762.	Frederick the Great, 1740-1786.	Catharine I, Tsarina, 1725-1727.	War between English and French in India, 1751-1754.
Suppression of Jesuits, 1764.	Seven Years War, 1756-1763.	Elizabeth, Tsarina, 1741-1762.	Cliver, Governor of Bengal, 1758 and 1767.
Louis XVI, 1774-1792.	Joseph II, Emperor, 1765-1790.	Catharine II, Tsarina, 1762-1796.	George III, 1760-1820.
Ministry of Turgot, 1774-1776.	Frederick William II, King of Prussia, 1786-1797.	First Partition of Poland, 1772.	"Old French and Indian War," 1755-1763.
Ministry of Necker, 1776-1781.	Leopold II, Emperor, 1790-1792.	Second " " " 1793.	Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India, 1774-1785.
Convocation of Estates General, 1789.	Francis II, Emperor, 1792-1835.	Third " " " 1795.	Cook's Voyages, 1768-1779.
The French Republic, Sept. 22, 1792.	(Becomes Emperor of Austria, 1806.)	Russia gets 6,000,000 inhabitants.	American Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.
Louis XVI executed Jan. 21, 1793.	Frederick William III, King of Prussia, 1797-1840.	Austria " 3,700,000 "	Treaty of Paris, 1783.
The Directory, 1795-1799.		Prussia " 2,500,000 "	
Establishment of Consulate, Dec. 24, 1799.			

France.	Central, Western, and Northern Europe.	Southern Europe.	England.
The Consulate, 1799-1804. The First Empire, 1804-1814. Treaties of Tilsit, July 7-9, 1807. Napoleon invades Russia, 1812. First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814. Return from Elba; beginning of the Hundred Days, March 1, 1815. Waterloo, June 18, 1815. Second Treaty of Paris, Nov. 20, 1815. Death of Napoleon, May 5, 1821. Revolution of July (27-29), 1830. Revolution of February (21-24), 1848. The Second Republic, 1848-1852. Coup d'Etat of Louis Bonaparte, Dec. 1-2, 1851. The Second Empire, 1852-1870. Crimean War, 1854-1856. Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871. Sedan, Sept. 1, 1870. The Third Republic, Sept. 4, 1870-	Francis II abdicates crown of Holy Roman Empire; becomes Emperor of Austria, Aug. 6, 1806. Internal reorganization of Prussia; Stein; Hardenberg, 1807. University of Berlin, 1810. Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, 1809. (King as Charles XIV. 1818-1844.) Congress of Vienna, Nov., 1814-June, 1815. Denmark cedes Norway to Sweden; Peace of Kiel, 1814. Revolution at Berlin, March, 1848. Revolution in Austria, Mar.-Nov., 1848. Frankfort Parliament, May 18, 1848. Hungarian Revolution, 1848-1849. Schleswig-Holstein Wars, 1848-1851. Emancipation of serfs in Russia, 1861. Austro-Prussian War, 1866. Austro-Hungarian Arrangement, 1867. William I of Prussia proclaimed German Emperor, Versailles, Jan. 1, 1871. Assassination of Tsar Alexander II, 1881. Triple Alliance: Germany, Austria, Italy, 1881. Peace Conference at the Hague, May-July, 1897.	Napoleon, King of Italy, 1805. Revolution in Spain, Naples, Piedmont, 1820. War of Greek Independence, 1821-1829. Kingdom of Belgium, 1831. Reorganization of Switzerland, 1848. Battle of Novara, March 23, 1849. War of France and Sardinia against Austria, 1859. Italy acquires Venetia, 1866. Spanish Revolution and Military Dictatorship, 1868-1870. Opening of Suez Canal, 1869. Rome capital of Italy, 1871. Spanish Republic, 1873-1874. Turko-Russian War, 1877-1878. Congress of Berlin, June-July, 1878. Spanish-American War, April, 1898. Treaty of Paris, Dec. 10, 1898.	Union of Great Britain and Ireland (United Kingdom), 1801. Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805. George IV, 1820-1830. Catholic Relief Act, 1829. William IV, 1830-1837. First Reform Act, 1832. Abolition of Slavery throughout British Empire, 1833. Victoria, 1837-1901. Rebellion in Canada, 1837-1839. Repeal of Protective System, 1846-1852. First International Exposition, at London, 1851. Siege of Sebastopol, 1854-1855. Indian Mutiny, 1857-1858. Irish Land Acts, 1870, 1881-1885. Victoria proclaimed Empress of India, 1876. South African War, 1899-1902. Edward VII, 1901-

LIST OF EMPERORS, KINGS, AND PRESIDENTS--NINETEENTH CENTURY

FRANCE.			
<i>The Consulate</i> : Nov., 1799-Dec., 1804.			
<i>The First Empire</i> :			
Napoleon, Emperor of the French, 1804-1814 (d. 1821).			
<i>The Restoration</i> :			
Louis XVIII, 1814-1824.			
Charles X, 1824-1830 (d. 1836).			
Louis Philippe, 1830-1848 (d. 1850).			
<i>The Second Republic</i> :			
Louis Bonaparte, President. 1848-1852.			
<i>The Second Empire</i> :			
Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, 1852-1870 (d. 1873).			
<i>The Third Republic</i> :			
Government of National Defense, 1870-1871			
L. A. Thiers, President, 1871-1873			
Marshal MacMahon, " 1873-1879			
Jules Grévy, " 1879-1887			
Sadi Carnot, " 1887-1894			
Casimir-Périer, " 1894-1895			
Félix Faure, " 1895-1899			
Émile Loubet, " 1899-			
ITALY.			
(House of Savoy.)			
Victor Emmanuel I, 1802-1821.			
(Napoleonic period, 1805-1813.)			
Charles Felix, 1821-1831.			
Charles Albert, 1831-1849.			
Victor Emmanuel II, 1849-1878.			
(King of Italy, 1861.)			
Humbert, 1878-1900.			
Victor Emmanuel III, 1900-			
SPAIN.			
Charles IV, 1788-1808.			
Ferdinand VII, 1808.			
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808-1813.			
Ferdinand VII (rest.), 1813-1833.			
Isabella II, 1833-1868.			
Military Dictatorship, 1868-1870.			
Amadeo I, 1870-1873.			
Republic, 1873-1874.			
Alfonso XII, 1874-1885.			
Maria, 1885-1886.			
Alfonso XIII, 1886-			
RUSSIA.			
Alexander I, 1801-1825.			
Nicholas I, 1825-1855.			
Alexander II, 1855-1881.			
Alexander III, 1881-1894.			
Nicholas II, 1894-			
PRUSSIA.			
Frederick William III, 1797-1840.			
Frederick William IV, 1840-1861.			
William I, 1861-1888.			
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